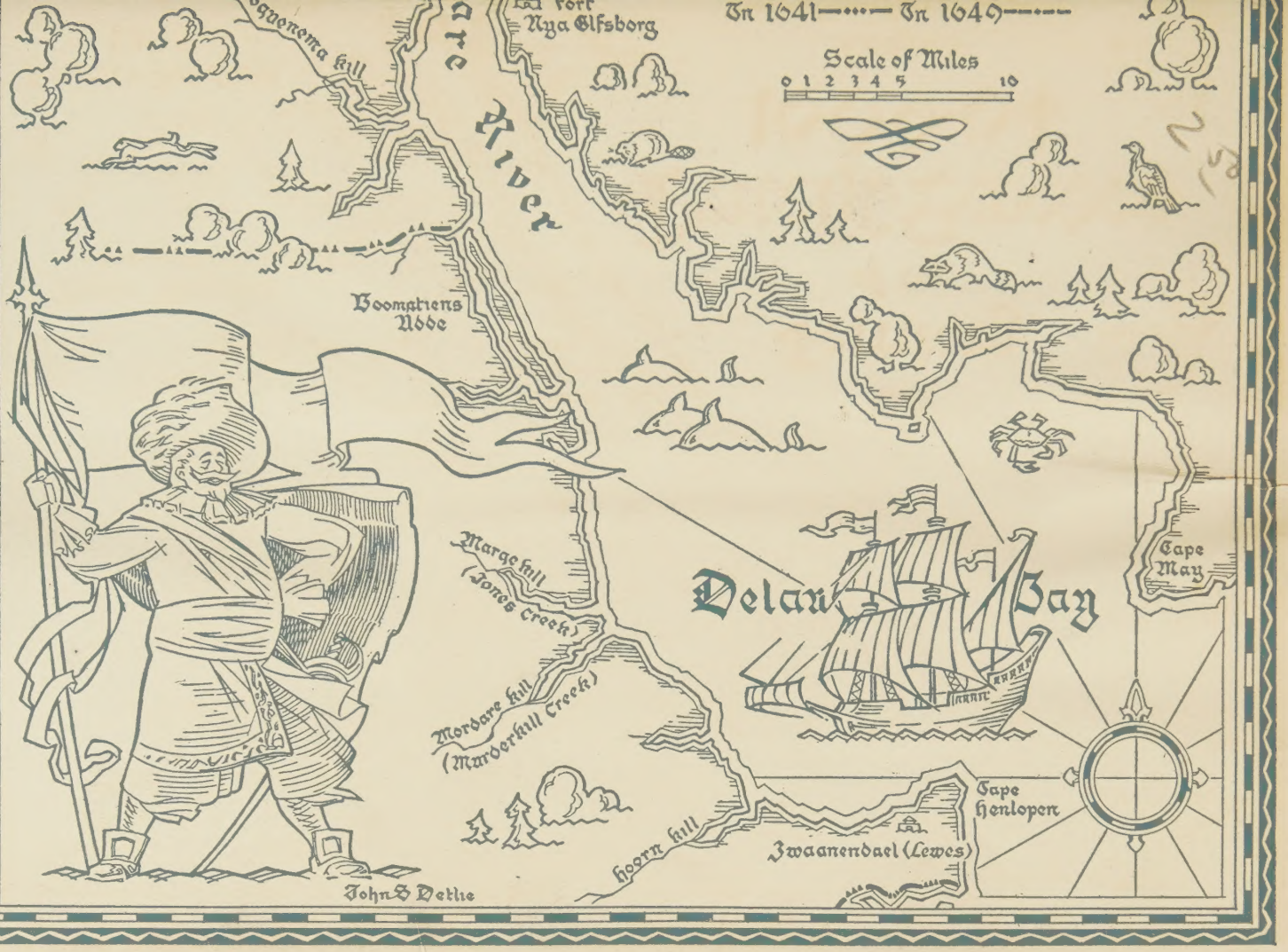
To the
Black Minquas
Gahanklill
Bankikan
(Trenton)
Kronameck
Torne
Mölndal
Nya Vasa
Kinsessing
Fort
Beversreede
Nya
Korsolm
Philadelphia
Nanceques kill
Timeum
Nya Goteborg
Upland
Printzdorp
Finland
Fort
Nassau
Fiske kill
(Brandywine creek)
White Minquas
(Susquehannas)
Fort
Christina
(Wilmington)
Timber
Jo
Christina or Minquas kill
Fort
Casimir
Ft. Trefaldighet
New
Amstel
Rising's Purchase
1655
Parker's kill
Territory
of the
Dutch & Swedes
1609-64
Legend
Modern Names Thus (Brandywine)
Forts &


In 1641 In 1649
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 10
Fort
Nya Elfsborg
Boomatiens
Udde
Marge hill
(Jones Creek)
Mordare hill
(Murderkill Creek)
hoorn hill
Delaware Bay
Cape
May
Cape
Henlopen
Zwaanendael (Lewes)
John S Dellie

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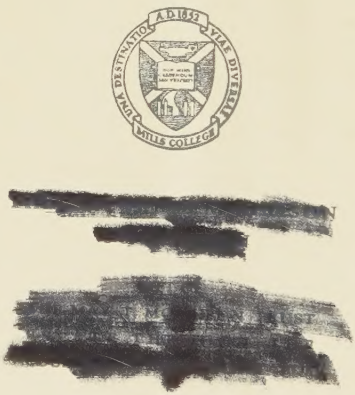

THE DUTCH & SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE 1609-64

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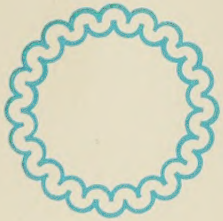
JOHAN PRINTZ, *Governor of New Sweden*, 1643-53

THE DUTCH & SWEDES *on the* DELAWARE 1609-64

By CHRISTOPHER WARD



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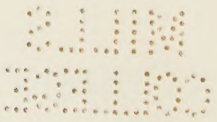

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To the memory of
My Grandfathers,
Christopher L. Ward, Esq.,
President of the Bradford County (Pa.)
Historical Society,
and
Lewis P. Bush, M.D.,
President of the Historical Society
of Delaware,
This book is dedicated

PREFACE

The stories of the early settlements of the English in New England, of the Dutch in New York and of the English in Maryland and Virginia have been told again and again. But, between these more northern and more southern lands, there lies a great territory stretching along both shores of Delaware River and Bay, whose earliest history has been neglected.

In the common estimation of the general reader, the beginnings of civilization in this middle region are credited to William Penn and his English Quakers. Yet, for nearly fifty years before Penn came, there had been white men settled along the River's shores. When he came, he found farms, towns, forts, churches, schools, courts of law already in being in his newly acquired possessions. Small credit has been given to those who laid these foundations, the Swedes and the Dutch, whom the English superseded.

The names of Winthrop, Stuyvesant, Calvert and Berkeley are familiar to many. Who knows the name of Johan Printz, the Swedish governor, who for ten years pioneered in this wilderness? Yet, in picturesqueness of personality, in force of character, in administrative ability and in actual accomplishment, within the limits of the resources granted him, Printz is the fit companion of these other so widely acclaimed men.

This book, then, tells this story, which, in its entirety and with proper fullness of detail, has waited until now to be told. It begins with the discovery of Delaware Bay by Henry Hudson in 1609. It ends in 1664, when the English took from the Dutch New Amsterdam and its then appanage, the Delaware River territory. During this period the Swedes and the Dutch ruled

the River. At times they divided its ownership between them. At times they alternated in complete domination. Their affairs were thus so intertwined that their stories must be told as one.

In the table of "Principal Authorities" at the end of this volume will be found a sufficient indication of the historical sources drawn upon by the present writer, to whose editors and authors he acknowledges his indebtedness. Notable among them are the documents published by the State of New York and Dr. Amandus Johnson's learned and exhaustive work, "The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware." Special acknowledgment is due to Dr. George H. Ryden, Professor of History of the University of Delaware, for his kind assistance in the assembly of the source materials and his subsequent careful and thorough criticism of the manuscript.

C. W.

Wilmington, Delaware
August 4, 1930

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BOOK ONE: THE DUTCH

CHAPTER I

OF TRAFFICS AND DISCOVERIES

HEN Solomon the Great had built his temple and had built all the cities which he "desired to build in Jerusalem and in Lebanon and in all the land of his dominion," he "made a navy of ships . . . on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom." Then, because the Israelites were not seafaring men, he called on his friend Hiram, King of Tyre, and Hiram sent him "shipmen that had knowledge of the sea."

So the firm of Solomon & Hiram was formed and began to trade overseas. They brought gold from "Ophir," which may have been Africa or Egypt or Arabia, and from the Far East they brought sandal-wood and precious stones, "ivory and apes and peacocks," and "King Solomon exceeded all the Kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom."

Two thousand years after the time of King Solomon, men in ships were still seeking the luxuries and elegances which only the Far East could furnish. Venice and Genoa had succeeded Tyre and Sidon as the chief emporia of the Mediterranean. They monopolized the trade with the Orient and for five centuries

"held the gorgeous East in fee." Then in 1453 Muhammad II took Constantinople, the gateway to the East, and barred it to all Christian nations. No longer was the Mediterranean the highway to India and China and the Islands of Spices. The direct road was closed. It was necessary to find a detour.

Thrust out into the Atlantic at the southwestern corner of Europe was another land that bred seafarers. Hitherto it had been at a disadvantage because it had no Mediterranean port. In the adversity of Venice and Genoa Portugal found her opportunity. Step by step, to the Canaries, to Madeira, to the Azores, her mariners had ventured westward into unknown seas. Now, under the guidance of Prince Henry the Navigator, they turned southward. Step by step again, by successively longer voyages, at last they made their way around the Cape of Good Hope to India. In 1498 Vasco da Gama dropped a Portuguese anchor in the harbor of Calicut, and for a hundred years after that the little kingdom of Portugal was foremost in the commerce between Europe and the East.

* * * * *

Farther north on the coast of Europe lay another land that bred sailormen. Originally inhabited by the Batavians and other German tribes, the Netherlands—the Low Lands on the North Sea—belonged in the IX Century to Germany as a dependency of the Duchy of Lotharingia. With the decline of the ducal power they were divided into several counties and duchies, Brabant, Flanders, Guelders, Holland, Zealand and the rest. By various means in the XIV and XV centuries, they came under the dominion of the Dukes of Burgundy, and so by descent to Charles I, King of Spain.

The Netherlands lay in the track of trade that led by sea from Spain, Italy and the Levant to Britain and the more northern

lands. Their geographical situation, long shore line and good harbors, the boldness and skill of their mariners and the commercial ability of their merchants combined to make them, and especially Holland, the greatest entrepot of trade in western Europe. Sweden sent down her metals and timber, Muscovy her hides and furs, Iceland her salt fish. England shipped across the narrow sea her wool and tin. From Italy came oil, and wine from France, and from Venice and Genoa the spoil of the East, ivory, silks and spices. The Netherlands themselves produced linens and fine woollen fabrics and glass, paper and printed books, steel and swords and gems, cut jewels and cloth of gold. In the cities of Holland and of the other provinces these things met and found their market. Dutchmen were traders almost by the necessity of nature.

When Muhammad the Conqueror blocked the gateway to the East, silks and spices ceased to come to Holland by way of Venice and Genoa, but that troubled the phlegmatic merchants of Amsterdam very little. They were as ready to trade with Lisbon. The desired goods continued to come, though by another route. The ships of the Dutchmen carrying their cargoes still sailed the seas and in ever increasing numbers. By the end of the XVI century the Dutch were the foremost in the tonnage of their merchantmen, the greatest European trading nation.

* * * * *

Portugal had a natural advantage over the other European nations in this matter of oriental commerce, because of her geographical position and of the courage and seamanship of her sailors. This was made a monopoly by Pope Nicholas V in 1454, when he gave Portugal the exclusive right to explore and use the new way around Africa to the East. But in 1493 came Columbus with the news that he had found a western route to the

Indies for the Spaniards. Portugal's monopoly was ended and dangerous national rivalries were created.

To prevent trouble Pope Alexander VI took the matter in hand. On the map he drew a north and south line a hundred leagues west of the Azores, and gave Spain all the world to the west of it. So Portugal and Spain divided the trade with the "Indies," not knowing that one had the East Indies and the other the West Indies, and that they were half a world apart.

Still the Dutch were unconcerned. There was for a long time no trade from the west, and they continued dealing very satisfactorily with Portugal for the products of the east. But in 1556 events began to occur, which were to affect them seriously in many ways. In that year Philip II succeeded his father Charles I on the Spanish throne and so became ruler of the Netherlands. He was a very religious man, incessant in "laboring for the glory of God." Heretics being equally abominable in the sight of God and of Philip, and his Netherlandish subjects being largely of heretical opinion, he set himself to convert them by edict. They refused to obey. With fire and sword he tamed the southern provinces, which were predominantly Catholic and which now constitute Belgium. But the stiff-necked Protestants of the northern provinces, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht and so on, seven in all, withstood him. They organized a Union, proclaimed their independence of Spain and elected William of Orange their prince, with the title of Stadholder. All this did not interrupt their trade with Portugal, but twenty-five years later another shift of circumstance ended it.

King Sebastian of Portugal died in 1581, and Philip of Spain made good his claim to that country by seizing it. Portugal thus became a province of Spain and the Dutch, being at war with its

lord, were its enemies. Trade between the two countries was impossible.

Yet again the Dutchmen were equal to the occasion. Portugal was now an enemy. Its vessels, its trade and its colonies were fair game. What the Dutch could not buy from the Portuguese they were quite willing to take by force. The Invincible Armada met its fate at the hands of the English in 1588 and with it fell Spain's sea-power. Conquered Portugal, looking to her new master to protect her, found herself defenseless.

There was little difference between merchantmen and men-of-war in those days. All merchant vessels were armed, prepared to trade with friend or fight with foe or to do a bit of piracy upon occasion. The Dutch fleet was ready to meet the emergency.

Java, Sumatra and the Molucca Islands were speedily taken from the Portuguese. Dutch brick houses with Dutch tile roofs proclaimed the presence of these newcomers on the coast of Malabar and the coast of Coromandel. For a halfway station, they colonized the Cape of Good Hope. The Malay Peninsula and the island of Ceylon now yielded their treasures directly and almost exclusively to the Dutch, instead of indirectly through Portugal as before.

This world-wide commerce grew beyond the powers and resources of individual traders. The Dutch East India Company, the first great corporation whose shares were traded in after the modern fashion, was organized to cope with this vast business. By the time it was six years old, this company had on the seas, besides smaller vessels, forty great ships, "armed with six hundred pieces of cannon and manned by five thousand sailors." It combined peaceful trading with profitable piracy on Spanish

and Portuguese ships and paid its stockholders sixty percent in dividends in one year.

The Company was doing very well, but there was one drawback. The voyage by way of the Cape of Good Hope was too long. A shorter route would mean a quicker turnover, and even sixty per cent per annum might be bettered. Was there not a northeastern way to India?

That ancient mariner, Sebastian Cabot, thought there was. Willem Barents, dean of Dutch navigators, had died seeking it, but still firm in the faith that it could be found. And there were those restless souls, the English, poking about northward of Nova Zembla, looking for it. In 1608 one of their captains, Henry Hudson, had made a notable effort in that direction. They were looking up, those English, in this matter of foreign commerce. They too had organized great corporations to trade in far foreign lands. If they found this shorter route, their Muscovy Company might bite deep into the Eastern trade, might also monopolize the Russian market. Something must be done and now, the year 1609, was a favorable time to do it, for exhausted Spain had concluded a twelve years truce with its rebellious Dutch provinces.

If you take your rival's best man, you achieve a double purpose, hurting him and helping yourself. The Dutch company hired Henry Hudson, paying him $320 and promising to pay $80 more to his wife, if he never came back. They gave him the *Haelve Maene*,—Half Moon—a yacht of eighty tons burden, manned it with a crew of sixteen or eighteen Dutch and English sailors and sent him off on the fourth of April to look "for a passage by the North, around by the North side of Nova Zembla." His orders were emphatic. He was to go so and not otherwise. He was "to think of discover-

ing no other route or passages, except the route around the north and north-east of Nova Zembla."

He doubled the cape of Norway the fifth of May and found the sea full of ice. At this his crew balked, nor can one believe that the skipper himself was pleased with the outlook. He had tried it the year before and found it impassable. Besides he had "certain letters and maps, which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia," promising him "a sea leading into the Western ocean by the north of the southern English colony." In other words, that famous Smith, Captain John, led him to believe that from Maryland or thereabouts there was open water all the way to China. Yielding, perhaps not unwillingly, to his mutinous crew he turned his course westward.

By July second he was off Newfoundland. On the eighteenth he anchored in Penobscot Bay. The little ship had been battered by the ice north of Nova Zembla and the waves of the North Atlantic. The wind had split her sails and carried away her foremast. The paint was dim on her red lion figurehead, and its gilded mane was tarnished. Her ironwork was rusty and her cordage slack. Hudson stepped a new mast, tautened his ropes and sailed south. On August seventeenth he sighted the Virginia coast, a little to the north of Cape Charles. He turned to the north, feeling out his course this way and that. On the twenty-eighth he "came to a Point of the Land."

One "Robert Juet of Limehouse" was in the ship and wrote an account of the voyage. After sighting this "Point of the Land" he says ". . . on a sudden we came into three fathomes; then we beare up and had but ten foot of water . . . we found the land to trend away North-west, with a great Bay and Rivers. But the Bay we found shoald . . . and had sight of

Breaches and drie Sand. . . . At seven of the clocke we anchored. . . . He that will throughly Discover this great Bay must have a small Pinnasse . . . to sound before him."

Hudson anchored again that night and in the morning tried various courses, but the bay was too "full of shoalds." He dared not venture too far among them. By the current he encountered, the accumulation of sands and shoals and bars, he knew this was but the mouth of a great river and not the open "sea leading into the Western Ocean." That must be farther north. So he sailed away.

That was all that Henry Hudson saw of Delaware Bay, which he had just discovered. He was probably not the first European to see it. Verazzano almost certainly saw it in 1524. It was probably this bay that Lucas Vasquez d'Ayllon visited in 1525 and named St. Christopher's. Some nameless Dutchmen are said to have wintered there in 1598. But none of these made it known to the world, which is an essential element of true discovery.

Hudson went on to the north, discovered and explored the great river that bears his name and again failed to find in it the way to Cipangu. That must lie still further north, but he could go no further now. He crossed the Atlantic and put in at Dartmouth in England in November, whence he reported to his employers in Holland.

He had discovered two great bays, into which flowed two great rivers. He had visited and partly explored the entire Atlantic seaboard from Virginia to Maine. Eleven years were to come and go before the *Mayflower* brought the first of the Pilgrims to found New England. There were no white men's colonies between Virginia on the south and Canada. This whole territory lay open to seizure, colonization and per-

manent possession by the Dutch East India Company, an empire of incalculable value. But it was not India. It did not produce silks and spices. Trade with naked savages was unalluring to this rich and powerful company. Hudson had found nothing to interest his employers. His report was pigeonholed and for five years after his visit the waters of Delaware Bay and River were unruffled by the prows of Dutch ships.

CHAPTER II

OF PRIMEVAL FORESTS AND NEOLITHIC MEN

WHITE sandy shore and within it an abundance of green trees," that was all Henry Hudson saw of the land, which is now the State of Delaware. In truth, it would be hard to manage in twelve words a better description of the land as it was at that time.

The low level landscape, stretching northward for a hundred and twenty miles along the Bay and River, varied its contours only in the rolling hills of the last ten. Except where it was slashed through by the little rivers that flowed into the great River and where some marsh or morass lay open and treeless and where the Indians had cleared their little fields, it was covered by a primeval forest.

"Primeval forest" is a phrase worn so smooth by common use that it is hard now to realize its full meaning, to picture in the mind this great expanse of timberland which had never known an axe. The ground was deep with the black soil made by rotted leaves that had fallen year by year for thousands of years, covered with undergrowth and thick with brambles. From this terrain sprang mighty oaks, rising sixty or eighty feet before a single branch thrust itself from their rude col-

umns—"the finest oaks for height and thickness that one could ever see." Towering tulip trees reared their smooth cylindrical trunks to an equal height. Huge beeches with silvered boles, rough-barked chestnuts, walnuts, hickories, maples, buttonwoods and ash trees strove with each other for room to stand and space to spread their branches. Pines, straight and slim and smooth, stood close ranked like masts in a forest of ships. Cypress grew thick in the swamps, and willows lined the streams. Among the greater trees, wherever they could find room, the lesser, sassafras, dogwood, hornbeam, holly, alder, and a multitude of shrubs, elbowed each other, and everywhere, spreading over the shrubs and low-growing trees, climbing in the branches of the loftiest, grapevines flung their tangled network. Huge trunks of prostrate trees fallen through old age or overthrown by storms lay here and there, some presenting insuperable barriers to the traveler, others mere moss-covered masses of touchwood, into which one clambering over might sink to his waist. Bogs, formed by clogged streams or filling naturally undrained basins, grew rank with reeds and marsh plants. Only by the few Indian trails and paths was such a forest penetrable without vast difficulty and real danger.

Encouraged by warm summers and mild winters every kind of vegetable growth that flourishes in a temperate and humid climate grew in this fertile soil in profusion. Wild fruits, mulberries, cherries, plums, blackberries, raspberries, strawberries, "excellent grapes, red, black, white, muscadel and fox," abounded. Medicinal plants, herbs and simples of a hundred kinds, specifics for as many ailments, flourished in the woods and marshes.

* * * * *

There was a variety and an abundance of wild animal life such as is unknown anywhere on this continent today. Beasts of prey, bears, wolves, panthers, wildcats, infested the forest. Elk, "as big as a small ox," and deer roamed through it. Foxes, raccoons, opossums, minks, weasels, skunks, rabbits and squirrels were there in multitude. Beavers, fishers, otters and muskrats haunted the ponds and streams.

There were birds of prey, too, eagles, hawks and kites, owls, buzzards and crows, and game birds, turkeys, of "forty and fifty pound weight," says William Penn, partridges, pheasants, quail, woodcocks and snipe. Also there were "the Swan, Goose, white and gray, Brands, Ducks, Teal, also the Snipe and Curloe and that in great numbers; but the Duck and Teal excel, nor so good have I ever eat in other Countries," Penn further testifies. Song birds filled the woods, so that men could "scarcely go through them for the whistling, the noise and the chattering," we are assured by Wassenaer. Wild pigeons were so numerous that, flying in flocks, they darkened the sun as do clouds.

The waters of the River yielded fish in embarrassing plenty. Shad were taken in nets, "600 and odd at one draught." "Sturgeon played continually in the river." Halibut, mackerel, rock, bass, pike, trout, perch, catfish and eels were there, an "abundance of lesser fish to be caught of pleasure," while herring swarmed "in such shoales that it is hardly credible."

Further down, where the Bay met the ocean, the sportive porpoise leaped from the waves about the Capes, and the jovial whale wallowed in the deeper waters. On the shores the suspicious crab scuttled sidewise over the sands of the shallows, while the cautious clam and the saturnine oyster reposed in their beds.

It was a second Garden of Eden that Henry Hudson touched and passed by, and in it were men and women as simple and untutored as Adam and Eve.

* * * * *

These people were Indians belonging to the great Algonquin family, which was divided and subdivided and divided again into so-called "tribes." De Laet enumerates several "nations" inhabiting the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries, "namely, the Sauwanoos, Sanhicans, Minquaas, Capitanasses, Gacheos, Sennecaas, Canomakers, Naratekons, Konekotays, Matanackouses, Armeomecks, etc." Other historians add other names, the Assunpinks, Rancocas, Mingoes, Andastakas, "who were located on Christian Creek, Wilmington" and so on.

In truth many of these "tribes" were but village or family groups. Their very names often originated with European settlers or explorers. "Capitanasses," for example, is plainly of Spanish origin and "Canomakers" of English.

A really important name is Leni-Lenape, meaning "real men," which those forming the confederacy that inhabited the Delaware River basin called themselves. This group was divided into three tribes, the Minsi or Munsee, who held the land from the headwaters down to the Lehigh River, the Unami, south of them, and the Unalachtigo, further south and down to the ocean.

The Minquas, of whom one hears most in the chronicles of the first settlers because they brought down the beaver and otter skins so eagerly sought by the white traders, were of the Iroquois family and lived about seventy-five miles to the north and west of the Christiana River. This name, properly Mingwe, which is the same as the "Mingo" of Cooper's novels, means

"treacherous" and was applied to them by the Leni-Lenape. The Swedes distinguished between the White Minquas, who were probably the Susquehannahs, and the Black Minquas, who seem to have lived as far west as the Ohio River and may have been the Eries. Why they were called "white" and "black" is beyond explanation. Campanius, who saw the Minquas on their trading visits, says they were "strong and hardy, both young and old, a tall and brave people."

Among all these tribes and families there was a great diversity of language. "They vary frequently," says Wassenaer, "not over five or six leagues; forthwith comes another language; if they meet they can hardly understand each other." Penn describes the tongue of those about Philadelphia as "lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew; in signification full, like short-hand writing; one word serveth for three . . . I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness in accent and emphasis than theirs."

* * * * *

Their color is variously described as olive, orange, cinnamon and copper, but there is little discrepancy in the descriptions of their physique. Tall, broad in the shoulders, slim in the waist, with well-proportioned muscular limbs, agile, nimble and swift of foot were the men. "They tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin," says Penn. "A well-proportioned people, slender and straight as a candle," says Lindeström, "very agile and limber, running like horses." There were "few or none cross-eyed, blind, crippled, lame, hunch-backed or limping men." All were "well-fashioned people, strong and sound in body, well fed, without blemish." The women were "fine looking, of middle stature, well proportioned and with finely cut features; with long and black

hair and black eyes set off with fine eyebrows." "I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both [sexes] as on your side of the sea," writes Penn. Their survival in their naked struggle for existence against the forces of nature depended on physical excellence. Only the fit won through and propagated the race.

Mentally they were shrewd and, within the limits of their knowledge, clear sighted and intelligent, "willing, clever and ready to learn." They were accustomed to "use few words which they first consider well." Yet they were prone to gaiety, to song and dance and to games of chance, as well as of skill. Hudson tells how on his first landing in the bay of New York "the swarthy natives all stood and sang in their fashion." Penn calls them "the most merry creatures that live, feasting and dancing perpetually," and de Rasieres relates that at a game called "senneca," played with rushes, "which they understand how to shuffle and deal as though they were playing with cards," they would "win from each other all that they possess," even to their last piece of clothing "and so separate from each other quite naked."

Temperamentally they were suspicious, cautious, apprehensive of being overreached, but "if humanely treated," says deLaet, "hospitable and ready to perform a service." "In liberality, they excel, nothing is too good for their friend," says Penn and Lindeström calls them "trustworthy and good-hearted." They remembered kindness, they never forgot injury, and always, if possible, repaid both.

They were usually honest in living up to agreements, but Hudson found them "much inclined to steal" and "adroit in carrying away whatever they have a fancy to." It must be remembered that by their own code, which laid little stress

on rights of property, such adroitness was accounted for righteousness, just as was skill in hunting. A clever thief was a highly regarded person. It was all a matter of difference of codes.

The Indian is called a "savage," an ugly name, a word that is also used as an adjective to describe conduct that is fierce, merciless, cruel, bloodthirsty, pitiless and generally dreadful. Yet, just as "barbarous" means merely "bearded," "savage" means nothing worse than "forest-dweller." In fact, the Indian deserved the epithet "savage" with its usual bad connotation not a whit more than did his white contemporaries. He was not more brutal than the soldiers in the Thirty Years' War in Europe. He was not more merciless than the Inquisitors in Spain, nor more bloodthirsty than Queen Mary of England, nor more cruel than the English judges and executioners, who for certain crimes inflicted nameless and inhuman tortures.

"Revengeful" is another word often used in describing the Indian, another ugly word, harsh in sound and wicked in its common connotation. Yet "to revenge a wrong" really means nothing more than to inflict punishment or exact retribution for a wrong, and that is exactly what the Indian did. There was no law, except such as the ancient Hebrews had when they exacted "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." There were no policemen, no courts to whom to refer the punishment of crimes. If an Indian was murdered, it was the duty of his brother or other fellow tribesman to inflict capital punishment on the murderer. If the criminal was a white man and could not be identified or was not to be found, then, on the principle of tribal responsibility, a potent article in the Indian's code, some other white man must suffer. If the murdered Indian was a sachem or other very important or highly valued person,

two or three lives were only a fair price to exact from the murderer's tribe. An implacable revengefulness in an Indian was nothing more than a very strong feeling for the sacredness of their only law, the law of retaliation.

Warfare was to them as natural a pursuit as hunting, just as it was in Europe in the Middle Ages. It was merely another form of predatory activity. In war their strategy and tactics were conditioned by two essential factors of successful generalship, secrecy and surprise. Their attacks were therefore delivered for the most part at night. They had small pleasure in a stand-up fight in the open. They regarded such an encounter as merely stupid and the leader, who led them into it, as lacking in military skill. They were keen for combat under proper conditions, but not averse to running away when a wise discretion demanded flight.

Although their culture was centuries and tens of centuries behind that of their European contemporaries, in one of its manifestations they were not so far out of date. They sometimes burned at the stake their enemies captured in battle, just as in England Queen Mary, a few years before, had burned hundreds of those with whom she disagreed in theological opinion, and they mutilated their captives in a manner not less ingenious than that prescribed by the laws of England then in force and in practice as a punishment for treasons.

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The Neolithic Age had come to an end in western Europe about 5,000 B. C. In A. D. 1609 the American Indians were still Neolithic men. They knew stone and the art of chipping stone into arrow-points and spear-heads and crude battle-axes. Of stone and bone and wood their few weapons, their few tools, were made. They knew soft copper and contrived from it

tobacco-pipes and a few simple ornaments, but of its alloys, which had led European man out of the Stone Age into the Age of Bronze, they had no knowledge. The fabrication of hard metal that would hold an edge was not within their capacity.

In all the other domestic arts they were thousands of years behind the Europe of that day. They wove baskets of osier and reed, made blankets of feathers, but no woollen or cotton fabrics. They made crude pots, but these were unglazed and porous. They cured skins, but did not tan them. They built huts of bark and skins, but masonry and joiner-work were quite beyond them. Their huts, without fireplaces or chimneys, were little more than artificial and temporary caves. They had no chairs or tables. In summer they "slept under the blue heavens, some on mats of bulrushes interwoven, and some on the leaves of trees." Day and night their only coverings were the skins of animals. They subsisted chiefly on maize, ground and boiled as porridge or baked in cakes in the ashes, and on the flesh of animals, birds and fish.

They were ignorant of the simplest mechanical devices. The use of the wheel seems almost coeval with the dawn of intelligence in man, but the Indians knew it not. They pulverized their corn by pounding it in wooden mortars with stone pestles, built their boats by burning and scraping the trunk of a tree until it was hollowed out. They had no weapons but bows and arrows, stone axes, spears and clubs.

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Some of the tribes to the northward had evolved a system of government and of inter-tribal alliance that was surprisingly advanced, but those who lived along and near the Delaware Bay and River had no government and no laws. A few customs

obtained some authority, but even they were loosely held and irregularly enforced except in time of war.

While peace reigned the Indian was his own master. The chief was little more than an ornamental symbol of authority. "They have their chiefs," says deLaet, "whom they call *sackmos* and *sagamos* [sachems], who are not much more than heads of families, for they rarely exceed the limits of one family connection." Punishment for crime was inflicted by the wronged one, or by his surviving family, in case of killing. It consisted in retaliation in kind, or, if the injured party or his heirs saw fit, it could be commuted into a payment of wampum or other things of value.

Marriage was quite informal, and it lasted only as long as both parties were satisfied with it. On any disagreement it could be dissolved with equal informality. Among married women chastity was regarded as good form, but among married men and the unmarried of either sex it was neither a virtue nor a custom.

Their practise of graphic art was confined to crude drawings or molded or carven images of men, animals or other natural objects. Their science was limited to a knowledge of remedies for disease or dressings for wounds, prepared from herbs and roots and to a speaking acquaintance with the stars and constellations. "The women there," says deLaet, "are the most skilful stargazers; there is scarcely one of them but can name all the stars." They celebrated the changes of the seasons with feasting and ceremonies.

The religions of all primitive peoples are essentially much alike. The forces of evil are feared, and the favor of the malignant powers is courted by sacrifices and cajoleries. The beneficent phenomena of nature, the light and warmth of the sun, the fertilizing effect of rain, the fecundity of the earth, inspire grati-

tude. The casual observer sees merely a simple people's ceremonial demonstration of this fear and this gratitude. But to pierce the veil of outward observances and understand the true nature of their beliefs, that is a task for sympathetic minds trained to that end. Such certainly were not the early explorers of this part of America. They generally agree that the Indians had no "knowledge of God," "no religion whatever, nor any divine worship, but serve the Devil," whom they called "Menutto." This "Menutto," however, one might easily identify with that Manitou, the Great Spirit, in whom many later observers saw the God of the Indians. One chronicler of the period, indeed, admits that "there is something that is in repute among them," though its nature eluded him.

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Against all this, which has been derived from the testimony of half a dozen contemporary accounts, should in all fairness be transcribed a paragraph from a letter written in 1628 from Manhattan by the Reverend Jonas Jansen Michielse to his friend the Reverend, Learned, and Pious Mr. Adrian Smout in Amsterdam; "As to the natives of this country, I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as garden poles, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; devilish men, who serve nobody but the Devil, that is, the spirit which in their language they call Menetto; under which title they comprehend everything that is subtle and crafty and beyond human skill and power. They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery and wicked arts that they can hardly be held in by bands and locks. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall; and in cruelty they are altogether inhuman, more than barbarous, far exceeding the Africans. . . .

How these people can best be led to the true knowledge of God and of the Mediator Christ, is hard to say."

Tales of "cruelty, altogether inhuman, more than barbarous," are indeed to be read in the memoirs and journals of the times. There was one massacre, described by de Vries, that certainly deserves these epithets.

In the dead of a winter's night, without warning, attacking parties fell upon two little sleeping villages in Pavonia and Corlear's Hook. One hundred and thirty men, women and children were killed and their houses and goods burned. DeVries in Manhattan about midnight "heard a great shrieking . . . ran to the ramparts and looked over to Pavonia. Saw nothing but firing and heard the shrieks" of the victims, "murdered in their sleep." He afterward had the story of the massacre from eyewitnesses.

"Infants," he says, "were torn from their mothers' breasts, and hacked to pieces in the presence of their parents, and the pieces thrown into the fire and in the water, and other sucklings were cut, stuck, and pierced, and miserably massacred in a manner to move a heart of stone. Some were thrown into the river and when the fathers and mothers endeavored to save them," the attackers would not let them, "but made both parents and children drown—children from five to six years of age, and also some old and decrepit persons. Those who fled from this onslaught and concealed themselves in the neighboring sedge, and when it was morning, came out to beg a piece of bread, and to be permitted to warm themselves, were murdered in cold blood and tossed into the fire or the water." Some who escaped immediate death were found with their hands or legs cut off, "some holding their entrails in their arms, and others

had such horrible cuts and gashes, that worse than they were could never happen."

An unusually horrible story of Indian "cruelty altogether inhuman, more than barbarous" it seems, until it appears that the victims were Indians, peaceful people living in their own homes, and that the attackers were Dutch soldiers from Manhattan, especially commissioned by Governor Kieft "to wipe the mouths of the savages" in retaliation for the murder of two white men by an unknown Indian, and that the favor of Almighty God, "to crown our resolutions with success," had first been invoked and that on the return of the soldiers to Manhattan, bearing several Indian heads as trophies, Kieft "thanked them by taking them by the hand and congratulating them." Then the affair assumes a different complexion. It then seems to be but an unfortunate incident in the "redemption of this fair land from the savages." So, though the stubborn deVries insists on calling Kieft and his fellows "co-murderers" and asks whether "the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands ever did anything more cruel," one may hope that the savage Indians took their lesson to heart and duly profited by this Christian chastisement.

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For nearly twenty years these Indians lived in close contact with the Swedish settlers on the Delaware. The white men had things of as great value to the Indians as diamonds and pearls are to civilized peoples. They had guns, swords, knives, tools of all kinds, woollen cloth, kettles, pots, glass beads, every sort of exceedingly desirable thing, impossible of procurement elsewhere by the Indians. The Swedes were few in number, scattered thinly in tiny settlements along the river bank. The Indians were many, individually strong and daring, skilled in the highest

degree in the kind of warfare most efficacious against these little unguarded communities. One swift, well concerted onslaught would have wiped out New Sweden and yielded to the Indians such a store of plunder as would have enriched them beyond their fondest imaginings of wealth. If they were the "merciless savages" that they are usually thought to have been, if all you could reasonably expect from an Indian was an arrow from ambush, a skull-cleaving tomahawk, a knife in the back, the torch of the incendiary, the plundering hand of a thief and, finally, torture at the stake with the faggots bursting into flame, how was it that New Sweden lived and worked and slept in peace and safety for nearly twenty years?

In all that time there are but nine murders of white men or women charged against the Indians, a proportion that makes the record of killings in a modern American city look like the death roll of a battle. Moreover, two of these were strictly legal executions from the Indians' point of view, as punishment for the killing of a sachem by the Dutch. At least some of the others may have been similarly justifiable.

The Swedes were a peaceable people, just and fair minded. They treated the Indians well. They never attacked them. They were never guilty of such massacres as the Dutch inflicted on their red-skinned neighbors at Pavonia, or as the English perpetrated in the Pequot War. Consequently the war whoop never resounded in their ears. They deserved well of the Minquas and the River Indians, and they got what they deserved.

CHAPTER III

OF EXPLORATIONS AND FURTHER DISCOVERIES

TO THE Dutch East India Company, powerful in its fleet of forty great ships and its numerous flotilla of smaller craft, armed with six hundred cannon and manned by five thousand sailors, and in its colonies and trading posts dotting the shores of eastern seas, rich with the gains of commerce and the spoils of piracy, the report of Hudson's voyage was little more than a confession of his failure to find either a northeastern or a northwestern passage to India. There was, however, one word in it over which they paused and hummed and hawed a bit, a word with some magic in it, the little word "furs." In the chill climate of Holland, furs were in high repute. Something might be done in the fur line with profit, perhaps. But after all the West was not the East, and conservatism was good sound policy, so the shoemaker stuck to his last.

There was a man in Holland, however, a Belgian by birth, but for long a great merchant in Amsterdam, whose eyes looked toward the west and whose imagination played with new projects. Willem Usselinx had been in Spain, he knew Spain's West Indian trade. Why could not Holland reach out in that direction?

Ten years before the East India Company was formed, he had planned a West India Company, but failed to find support. Still, he kept on urging the matter among his fellow merchants, and in 1604 he revived it in a proposal that seemed destined to succeed. Delegates from the several Dutch provinces met and discussed it. A charter was drafted. It was favorably considered by their High Mightinesses, the States-General. It was about to be granted when the Cardinal Archduke to whom the uncomfortable job of claiming overlordship of the Netherlands had been delegated by Philip II, and who had been for years carrying on the long drawn out war with his rebellious subjects—this Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria unfortunately chose that moment to propose a truce. The States-General put aside everything else to listen to this proposal. By the time they had failed to agree on the truce, the charter was forgotten.

Usselinx may have been discouraged, but he was not beaten. He had been at this thing now for twelve years and was prepared to keep on for twelve more. Peace came in 1609, with the Twelve Years Truce, and the next year came Hudson's report, with that word "furs." It aroused more interest among the general mercantile fraternity of Amsterdam than among the directors of the East India Company. Usselinx seized the opportunity to renew his fight for a charter. He met strong opposition.

There were in Holland a hundred thousand refugees from the Flemish provinces—Belgium—which Spain still held. These and many of the Dutch wanted to renew the war, to drive Spain out of Belgium, so the refugees could go home. Opposed to this War Party was the Peace Party. They preferred peace for its own dear sake, also they did not want the

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refugees to go home, because these Flemings were useful citizens, skilled in trades and arts, contributing to the wealth and importance of Holland. To let them go home and restore Antwerp as a rival port to Amsterdam, re-establish Bruges and Lille and Mechlin as competitors of Leyden and Gouda and Rotterdam—what a foolish proposal! So the Peace Party and the War Party divided the nation.

The peaceful people under the leadership of John Oldenbarneveldt, Advocate of Holland, were good republicans. They accused the warriors, led by Prince Maurice of Nassau, of being wicked monarchists. But the most important, the most exacerbating difference between them was in matters of theological opinion. The fire-eaters were orthodox Calvinists, upholders of predestination and supralapsarians. The pacifists were heretic Arminians, believers in free-will and infralapsarians. Therefore, when Maurice's faction urged extension of the commerce of the United Provinces and colonization of distant lands, was it not the duty of the other party to oppose this policy? At all events, they did oppose it. Oldenbarneveldt had been successful in negotiating the Truce. He was consequently in a position of great power and Usselinx could make little headway against him. The Indians were left undisturbed in the possession of the shores of the Delaware.

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Yet that little word, "furs," had potency. Though there was no chartered company, no united move to possess and colonize this new world, there was nothing to prevent individual traders from exploiting a market still so unsophisticated that beaver skins could be bought there for glass beads. It was tried by a single ship at Manhattan in 1610, and the results were gratifying. More went out in the next year and the next,

and one or two small posts were established on the North River. Furs came back in increasing numbers. Without governmental authority or support these Dutch traders were doing well, but in 1613 they suffered a painful shock that made them realize the insecurity of their position.

One Captain Samuel Argall, an Englishman of Virginia, dropped anchor in the North River and informed Hendrick Christiaenzen, the superintendent of the Dutch post at Manhattan, that all this land belonged to the Virginia Company under grant from the King of England. In the face of superior force Christiaenzen had to acknowledge submission to the crown of England, and, what was even more unpleasant, to pay tribute to the governor of Virginia. A free-lance Dutch trader might be a match for a savage in an informal bargain involving beads and furs, but it was plain that to contend with English claimants, backed by royal warrants, some sort of high official parchment fortified with a large red seal was needed.

The matter was laid before the States-General, and in 1614 an octroy was passed giving to all good Dutchmen, who discovered "any new Courses, Havens, Countries or Places," a monopoly of resorting to and frequenting them for four voyages. This, it will be observed, was merely an encouragement to discovery for purposes of trade and did not contemplate colonization.

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Under this authority an expedition of five ships sailed for Manhattan. Christiaenzen commanded the *Fortune* of Amsterdam, Adriaen Block the *Tiger*, and Cornelis Jacobsen Mey the *Fortune* of Hoorn. Block lost his vessel by fire soon after he reached Manhattan and built a forty-four foot yacht there,

naming it *Onrust*—Restless—in which he explored Long Island Sound. Mey in his *Fortune* went south to Delaware Bay.

As he read the coast, there was a cape about where the southern boundary of Delaware meets the ocean. This he named Hindlopen, after a town in Friesland. Proceeding further he came to the true cape on the western shore and another opposite it. He wrote his name at large across the bay by naming the west cape, Cornelis, the east cape, Mey. To complete his sign-manual, he should have named the bay between them Jacobsen, but he contented himself by calling it Nieuw Port Mey. The symmetry of his work was afterwards marred when the name Hindlopen, having no real cape to cling to, drifted northward and attached itself permanently to the point he had called Cornelis. His name for the bay was also soon lost to all but historical memory.

News of these explorations and discoveries, covering the coast from the mouth of Delaware Bay to Cape Cod, being transmitted to the Hague, the States-General recognized the claims of the owners of the little fleet by granting to them, as a company, exclusive right "to visit and navigate" all that part of America between the 40th and 45th parallels, that is, from the latitude of Philadelphia, to that of Eastport, Maine, which territory they called New Netherland. This monopoly was limited to four voyages within a period of three years from January 1st 1615. Still, it must be noted, there were no rights of colonization granted. Only trade was contemplated, not settlement.

The United Company of Merchants, also called The United New Netherland Company, was thus officially recognized as discoverers of all this coast from Virginia to Cape Cod, Hudson, John Smith and all other pretenders to priority being ignored,

and it proceeded to exploit its new-found lands, building forts and trading-posts on the North River, which was then called Prince Maurice's, and pushing the trade in furs. The Company also gave some attention to the thitherto neglected South River, which had not been included in its monopoly. Capt. Cornelis Hendricksen explored it in 1615, in the little yacht *Onrust*, as far north as the Schuylkill.

Hendricksen reported his discoveries to the Company in 1616. As the first written description of the land along the Bay and River this report deserves transcription. The caption is as follows;

Report of Captain Cornelis Hendricxz^n of Munnickendam to the High and Mighty Lords States General of the Free, United Netherland Provinces, made on the XVIII^th August A° 1616, of the countries, bay and three rivers situate in the Latitude from 38 to 40 degrees, by him discovered and found for and to the behoof of his Owners and Directors of New Netherland, by name Gerrit Jacob Witsen, Burgomaster at Amsterdam, Jonas Witsen, Lambrecht van Tweenhuyzen, Paulus Pelgrom and others of their Company.

After this impressive overture, the report goes on:

"First, he hath discovered for his aforesaid Masters and Directors, certain lands, a bay and three rivers situate between 38 and 40 degrees.

"And did there trade with the Inhabitants; said trade consisting of Sables, Furs, Robes and other skins.

"He hath found the said Country full of trees, to wit:— Oaks, hickory and pines; which trees were, in some places, covered with vines.

"He hath seen, in the said country, Bucks and does, turkeys and partridges.

"He hath found the climate of the said country very temperate judging it to be as temperate as that of this country, Holland.

"He also traded for, and bought from the inhabitants, the Minquaes, three persons, being people belonging to this Company; which three persons were employed in the service of the Mohawks and Machicans; giving for them kettles, beads and merchandize."

These three were Dutchmen who had wandered down by way of the Mohawk valley to the Delaware river.

As a raconteur Capt. Hendricxz[n] may have been a garrulous teller of tall tales after the manner of mariners. As a descriptive writer he certainly deserves at least honorable mention for brevity and reserve. Strange to say his account of the wonders of this new land, even the disclosure of the existence there of both male and female deer, failed to move their High Mightinesses, the States-General, to favorable action on his request for an extension of the Company's monopoly down to the 38th parallel. With true Dutch caution they made a note of it and postponed its consideration indefinitely. Thus seven years after Hudson's discovery, the Delaware was still without a helping hand from Holland.

CHAPTER IV

OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY

BUT in the year 1618 things began to happen. The theological difference between the Arminians and the Calvinists had followed the usual course of such disputes toward arbitrament by the sword. With the army behind him Maurice was too strong for his opponents backed only by militia forces. He arrested Oldenbarneveldt among other leaders of the heretics. Then a hundred divines in a hundred and fifty-four sessions of the National Synod ascertained and declared that truth was in the doctrines of the Calvinists only and banned the Arminians. Oldenbarneveldt was condemned as a traitor and executed, and all opposition to Maurice's party collapsed. Thus protestant Holland, free from compulsion by catholic Spain in the matter of religion, determined for itself what all Dutchmen must believe and incidentally took a step forward on the long road that finally led to colonization on the Delaware.

Yet it was only another step. When the New Netherland Company, whose charter of privilege had expired in 1618, asked in 1620 for a renewal and offered to transport and settle on Manhattan Island four hundred families of English dissenters,

who had for several years been refugees in Holland, Maurice and the States-General refused to entertain the petition.

These Englishmen were, however, resolute in their purpose to emigrate and settle in the new world. Lacking organized backing in Holland they turned to England where they secured two vessels, one of which proved unseaworthy. In the other, a hundred of them embarked at Plymouth in September 1620, bound for Delaware Bay. Under stress of weather, their ship was carried far out of its course, and they finally landed in December north of Cape Cod. Thus it was that the name Plymouth Rock was given to a certain piece of stone in Massachusetts instead of to the Rocks on the Christiana, and that the Pilgrim Fathers settled in Massachusetts instead of in Delaware, and that the honor of planting Delaware's first permanent settlement was reserved for the *Kalmar Nyckel*, instead of falling to the *Mayflower*.

Speculations as to the effect of a kindlier climate, a more generous soil, upon the character of the English immigrants, of the Puritans, who followed them, and of their descendants, had not the accidents of the sea diverted them from the Delaware country, could lead to divers conclusions. One thing is certain however; if the Pilgrim Fathers had spent that first winter in Delaware Bay, they would have had a better time.

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The refusal of the States-General to favor the plans of the New Netherland Company did not prove a lack of interest in colonization. With the Peace Party effectively suppressed by the combined temporal and spiritual forces at Maurice's command, there was no longer opposition to his policies. Moreover the Twelve Years Truce was about to expire, and the prospects

of profits from piracy on Spanish and Portuguese merchantmen were bright. The East India Company might be relied on to do its share in the renewed fight against the devildom of Spain, but there was room for other Christian buccaneers on the western seas. Colonies were an essential factor in support of a comprehensive plan for this more extensive commerce. The project so long urged by Usselinx and his friends was about to become an accomplishment.

In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was chartered. Its central power was divided among five branches or chambers in as many Dutch cities, the managers being called Lords Directors. The Amsterdam chamber was given the management of the affairs of New Netherland. General supervision was lodged in a board of nineteen delegates drawn from the various provinces, called the College of XIX.

The field of action allotted to the new company was not narrow. It was given a monopoly of trade and colonization on the coast of Africa from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope and on the coast of America from the Straits of Magellan to the farthest north. It was authorized to make alliances with the natives, to colonize, erect forts, administer justice, declare war and make peace with consent of the States-General, to appoint governors and other officers and give them legislative, judicial and executive powers. To assist it, the States-General engaged to furnish a million guilders, about half a million dollars, sixteen war vessels and four yachts, the Company matching this fleet with an equal number of vessels. In short, its powers and privileges were little less than those of a sovereign state.

The territory claimed by the Company in North America was now erected into a province under the name New Nether-

land, with the armorial bearings of an earl. Its seal bore the words *Sigillum Novi Belgii*—Seal of New Belgium. Its seat of government was on Manhattan Island, where a small trading post had existed since 1614.

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The Company's first colonizing expedition sailed early in 1623 in the ship *New Netherland*. Landing was made at Manhattan, of which Adriaen Joriszen Tienpont took charge. Tienpont went up the North River and built Fort Orange, near the present site of Albany. The ship, captained by Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, sailed to the South River, then called Prince Hendrick's River. At a place on the eastern shore, called by the Indians Teechaacho, near the present site of Gloucester, New Jersey, Mey established the first settlement of Europeans on the Delaware, naming it Fort Nassau. These two forts marked the northern and southern limits of the Company's field of action.

The population of Fort Nassau consisted of four married couples and eight single men. It was the small beginning of a grand project, not too small, if it had been followed up, but there was no sequel to it. For some time after, the Company's energies were expended in preying on Spanish commerce and with rather splendid success. In 1628 its Admiral, Pieter Heyn, captured in Matanzas Bay the entire Spanish "Plate fleet," twenty ships laden with gold, silver and other merchandise to the value of four million ducats, about ten million dollars. This good fortune, however, gave the Company that expansive feeling that usually follows a sudden access of wealth. Proposals to foster emigration to New Netherland, which had been inattentively considered, now excited interest. Now emigrants

were needed, but it was plain that Dutchmen would not emigrate voluntarily. Some special urge must be created. To meet this exigency they devised an appeal to two of the strongest motives that animate mankind to desperate deeds, the desire for wealth and the desire for rank above their fellow men.

CHAPTER V

OF PATROONS AND PURCHASES

HE people of Holland and its sister provinces were almost universally of what the English call "the middle and lower classes." Even among those foremost in wealth and achievement there were few titles of nobility, few distinctions recognized as giving social pre-eminence and precedence. This was not, however, because such distinctions were undesired. It merely had happened that the old nobility had been killed off in the long drawn out wars with Spain. Spanish kings naturally did not ennoble their rebellious subjects and, since the northern provinces had established their independence, their government had been republican. There was no king to create new nobles. The demand existed, but there was no supply. In this condition of affairs the astute College of XIX saw its chance.

In 1629 it evolved and promulgated its "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions." To any member of the Company who would undertake to plant a colony of fifty souls upwards of fifteen years of age in New Netherland within four years, would be given sixteen miles of river front on one side of a navigable river or eight miles on each side, extending "so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit," in fee

simple, with a monopoly of "fishing, fowling and grinding" therein and with "the chief command and lower jurisdictions" thereof, that is to say, the right to make laws and enforce them in his own courts. He was to have also the right "to sail and traffic" all along the coast "from Florida to Terra Neuf," except in furs, that trade being reserved to the Company, and the right to privateer upon enemy ships. He was to appoint all ministers and school teachers.

Colonists so planted were to enjoy freedom from taxation for ten years, but were tied to the land and must work and pay rent to their lord, sell only to him and bring all their grain to his mill, for as many years as their agreements bound them.

Thus the master adventurer was promised a profitable property. More than that, it set up for him a small principality. It not only made him a feudal lord over his colonists, but, to crown it all, this princeling was dubbed "Patroon," as sonorous a title as ever issued from the lips of a monarch at the moment of accolade. It was a glittering bait, and the fish rose to it.

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The first was Samuel Blommaert. Formerly in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, later a merchant in Amsterdam and director of the West India Company, he knew something of the profits of foreign trade. Educated in England, he knew something of the glamour of a title. Patroon Blommaert! There are drums and trumpets in the words. In partnership with Samuel Godyn, president of the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company, he had beaten the gun in the race for wealth and honors and had staked out a claim even before the Charter of Privileges had been ratified by the States-General.

Through their agents in America these two took up a tract of land on the southwest side of the Bay of the South River,

"extending in length from C. Hinlopen off unto the mouth of the aforesaid South River," about eight Dutch miles and about half a Dutch mile in breadth "into the interior, extending to a certain marsh or valley, through which these limits can be clearly enough distinguished." Its extent, then, was about thirty-two English miles along the shore and two miles deep and its northern limit, perhaps, the mouth of Little Creek. It will be seen that the Charter having allowed sixteen English miles of river front to one manor, these claimants had been equally generous, allowing themselves as much more. On the other hand they took a depth of only two miles, one fourth of the depth allowed by the Charter. Soon after they acquired another tract on the eastern shore twelve miles square, including Cape May.

In consequence of this appropriation of both sides of the Bay, it was thereafter called Godyn's Bay. Godyn thus might appear to have an unfair advantage over his partner, but no sympathy is due Blommaert. In the matter of glorifying his name in geographical records, he could look out for himself. At one time or another a great river, the Connecticut, a creek, a cape, five islands and a farm were blazoned with the stately name, Blommaert. Unfeeling Time has erased it from every one of them.

Others soon followed these on the road to riches and fame, notably Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, who took up a tract on both sides of the Hudson twenty-four miles long and forty-eight miles broad, lying above and below Fort Orange, which became Rensselaerswyck, perhaps the best known and most successful of these manors.

The task of colonizing and carrying on these principalities must have seemed too great to be undertaken by one or two

men for, in both cases, partners were admitted to share in the venture. Van Rensselaer took in Godyn, Blommaert, Johannes de Laet and two others. Blommaert and Godyn took in van Rensselaer, de Laet, Mathias van Cuelen, Hendrick Hamel, Johan van Harinckhouck and Nicolaus van Sitterich, all directors of the West India Company, and Capt. David Pieterssen de Vries. To de Vries was entrusted the work of colonizing the manor on the Bay of the South River.

The Charter of Privileges required the Patroons "to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon." This formality was observed by Blommaert and Godyn. Three Indian sachems, Quesquaekous, Eesanques and Siconesius declared before the Director and Council of New Netherland at Fort Amsterdam, that they had received "certain parcels" of goods, "to their full satisfaction," for the land.

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It is pleasant to celebrate the magnanimity displayed by our forefathers in buying the Indians' land, instead of stealing it. One is gratified in believing that such transactions not only conferred on them an indefeasible legal title, but also surrounded them with an aura of righteousness. William Penn, as depicted by Benjamin West, portly and philanthropic, quieting his title to forty-eight thousand square miles of Indian territory by a generous donation to the chiefs of the Leni-Lenape of certain "parcels of goods," is a benevolent figure pleasant to contemplate. It seems ungracious to question the motives impelling these good men to such worthy actions, to doubt whether mere prudence, a regard for their own skins, rather than sheer probity, might not have actuated this policy of purchase, to ask oneself whether bribing an Indian chief to non-resistance at the cost of a few yards of cloth, an axe or two

and a half-pint of glass beads, might not have seemed safer than grabbing the land and fighting the whole tribe for it. Ungracious, indeed, such doubts, and, once entertained they open the door to others, to troublesome questions in ethics.

The Indians were, one is forced to remember, thousands of years behind the white man in the arts and crafts of civilization. In all this territory before the Europeans came there was not a yard of cloth nor an iron tool, neither firearms nor fire water. To these men of the Stone Age a blanket was a wonder, an axe was a marvel, a gun was a miracle, a bottle of rum was the key to a new world of unguessed delights. They wanted these things more than they could have imagined themselves wanting anything hitherto known to them. Eyeteeth would not have seemed too dear a price to pay for them. They gave the Dutch all Manhattan Island for twenty-four dollars worth of knickknacks. Chief Peminacka sold to Stuyvesant all the land on the Delaware from Minquas Kill to the Bay, in consideration of a promise to mend his gun whenever it needed repair. You can buy a diamond from a child for a lollipop. For a sugarplum, a baby would make its mark on a deed conveying away its birthright to millions. But might not the purchaser, in either case, hesitate before putting up a bronze tablet in memory of the transaction?

It is dangerous to start picking threads out of the tapestry that pictures the glorious deeds of our ancestors. One removes here a false gold thread of honor, there a spurious red filament of honesty—a salutary chastening of the picture! Yes, indeed, but what if the whole fabric unravels in one's hands? Dig into the facts of these purchases yet a little deeper.

The land was always bought from the sachem of a tribe or village. The price was paid to him for his own use. He alone

signed the deed and showed no warrant from his tribe for his action. But he did not own the land. He did not even own the few square feet on which his bark hut stood. No Indian owned land individually. It was all community property, this land on which the Indians lived and from which they won their food, their clothing and their shelter. The sachem had no authority over it. He was, indeed, in all respects little more than a figurehead. He could not even enforce the law, there being no law to enforce. His office was a shadow beside that of the mayor of a modern city. If the mayor of New York, in a private transaction for his own personal profit, sold Central Park to a syndicate of Chinese colonists, would the courts uphold their title?

There was, however, one pleasant feature of most of these transactions. The natural amiability of the Indian was convincingly displayed in the readiness and willingness of the sachem, who had sold the tribal land, to sell it all over again to the same purchaser or any other, as often as he could get anyone to pay him for it. In the history of the Delaware River, the farce entitled "Buying Land from the Indians" was played again and again, on the same stage, with the same properties and with the same Indian actors, the cast being varied only by the white players, Dutch, Swedish or English.

CHAPTER VI

OF DAVID DE VRIES AND ZWAANENDAEL

ALTHOUGH all is not gold that glisters in the chronicles of those times, scrutiny of the characters of some of the heroes of the story yields solid satisfaction. One such is Captain David Pieterssen de Vries.

De Vries was born in Rochelle, France, in 1593 of Dutch parents, his father a native of Hoorn, Holland, and his mother of Amsterdam. From early youth he lived mostly in Hoorn, though from his twenty-fifth year he went on many voyages, usually as supercargo. When he was twenty-seven he was in a sea fight, in which was won a notable victory over privateers off Cartagena, after which he saw service under the Duc de Guise, Admiral of France. He spent three years in the East Indies, and it was on his return thence that he met in Amsterdam Samuel Godyn, who solicited him to go as commander of the proposed colony on the Bay of the South River. De Vries stipulated that he should be "a patroon equal with the rest," and his terms were accepted.

When that project had run its brief and disastrous course, de Vries took part in planting a colony in Guiana and in trading voyages to Manhattan and Virginia. He spent six years,

from 1638 to 1644, in attempting to establish settlements on Staten Island and at Tappaan, which were frustrated by Indian hostilities consequent upon Governor Kieft's acts of murderous aggression. He returned to Holland in 1644, where ten years later he wrote an account of his life and adventures, published at Alkmaar in 1655. After that de Vries disappears from history.

His portrait in that book is singularly lifelike and gives one a most favorable impression of the man, an impression that is borne out by his homely, though vivid, literary style, as well as by his account of himself. It shows a man of rather slender figure, with a high and broad forehead, aquiline nose, firm mouth, pointed chin and alert and searching eyes. All the evidence proves him not only a bold and skilful seaman, a thoroughly competent man of business, but a wise and judicious counsellor and a capable diplomat. His dealings with the Indians made manifest a humane heart and a gentle and kindly disposition. He protested as forcibly as he could against Kieft's Pavonia massacre and he denounced its author in plain language. When the Indians, from Connecticut to New Jersey, in consequence of that outrage, went on the warpath against the Dutch, they excepted de Vries from their hostility, calling him "a good chief," and he was able at last to induce their sachems to go to the fort at Manhattan and conclude a peace.

De Vries's effort to colonize in Delaware was abortive, and his part in her history is not important. Such extended notice is justified here only by the feeling of deep regret one must entertain that this able and upright man was not fated to that larger participation in the founding of the State to which he seemed destined. Not one of those in command of

the Delaware colonies for the next fifty years stands even a near second to David Pieterssen de Vries.

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On December 12th, 1630, the first expedition to colonize the manorial lands on the Bay of the South River sailed from the Texel. It consisted of two vessels, a ship of 300 tons, by name the *Walvis*—Whale—commanded by Capt. Peter Heyes, and a small yacht. The yacht was separated from the ship and "taken by the Dunkirkers" the next day, and the *Walvis* completed the voyage alone. She carried a cargo of bricks, cattle and provisions and twenty-eight colonists, besides the crew.

In the spring of 1631 she reached her destination, and this first settlement was begun on the banks of Hoorn Kill, now Lewes Creek. A fortification was erected of "palisades, in place of breastworks," surrounding a large house. They named it Fort Oplandt. The house is said to have been built of brick. When one reckons the number of bricks needed to build a habitation for the twenty-eight colonists, no matter how limited its accommodation, one disbelieves. It seems more than probable that, as was afterwards the custom among such expeditions, only enough bricks to build fireplaces and chimneys were brought over in the *Walvis*. On the other hand, this improbability should not be too heavily stressed. It is quite improbable that twenty-five years before this, in India and on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, there were houses built of Dutch brick and roofed with Dutch tiles, and that Dutch canals were dug in those tropical lands, for no other apparent purpose than to reproduce a Dutch landscape for the pleasure of Dutch expatriates in the service of the East India Company. Yet such houses and canals were actually

there, and, if these Patroons were bent on doing the thing in style and could possibly crowd the necessary bricks into the hold of the *Walvis*, there may have been in Fort Oplandt a four- or five-story Dutch brick house with stepped gable-ends, after the fashion of the houses in Hoorn or Amsterdam. Such a gesture would have been quite magnificently Dutch.

Five men, probably from New Amsterdam, joined the others, and the little group of thirty-three pioneers set about clearing land and seeding it. They also inaugurated a whale fishery from which much profit was expected. By July their cows had calved, their first crops were well grown, the whaling was under way. The *Walvis* sailed away, leaving Gillis Hossett in charge of as promising a young colony as its patrons could have desired. It bore the poetic name of Zwaanendael, Valley of Swans.

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On the sixth of December in the following year de Vries himself arrived at Zwaanendael, in command of the syndicate's second expedition, a ship and a yacht. He found nothing but ruins. The palisades were there, the house within them was almost entirely consumed by fire. Scattered about were the skulls and bones of men and animals, white on the yellow sandy soil. There was not a living soul left in Zwaanendael.

Two days later he parleyed with some Indians on the bank of the creek and induced one of them to come aboard his yacht, giving him a "cloth dress." Reassured by this token of amity and by gifts of trinkets to others following the first, the Indians told the tale of the tragedy.

The Dutch, after the usual custom for asserting a national claim to new country, had fastened to a post a sheet of tin with the arms of Holland painted on it. An Indian chief coveted the

tin as material for tobacco-pipes and took it. Hossett and the others, doubtless feeling that the dignity of their country was involved, made such an ado about the petty trespass as to convince their Indian neighbors that a terrible crime had been committed. Accordingly they slew the chief and brought his head to Hossett as a peace offering. The Dutchmen were rather appalled at such speedy and drastic reparation. They suggested that a good scolding would have been enough punishment. The dead man's friends, evidently of the same opinion, had their own way of expressing their regret.

Three of them came to the fort bearing beaver skins for trade. One Dutchman, who was sick, was at home guarded by a great mastiff chained at the door. The rest were at their work about the fort and in the fields. The man in charge of trade went with the Indians up to the loft, where the stores were kept. As he was coming down again, an Indian behind him sunk an axe in his head. Then they killed the sick man and the mastiff. It took twenty-five arrows to finish the dog, of whom the Indians were more afraid than they were of the men.

The other Dutchmen, unsuspicious of danger, were easily approached in friendly fashion and killed at their work. Only one of the thirty-three, one Theunis Willemsen, escaped. His story is not told by the chroniclers, but he probably made his way to some settlement of white men.

De Vries tells the story with no show of emotion or resentment, nor did he attempt reprisals on the Indians. He seems to have felt that it was a bad business, but not to be bettered by either tears or wrath. These Indians were factors in the problem of settling the land. They could neither be eliminated nor ignored. Their customs and habits of thought could be altered only slowly, if at all. What they had done was to them

the natural and necessary answer to the death of their friend, which they blamed on the Dutch. Hossett had blundered in making so much of a trifling trespass. In such a situation a blunder is as bad as a crime, and its consequences must be accepted philosophically. If the colony was to be reconstituted, emotion must not be allowed to prevail over wise counsels. Such seems to have been the sedate reaction of de Vries's mind to the narrative of the slaughter.

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Next day he met a number of the chiefs and, sitting with them in a ring, made peace with them and gave them gifts, so that they "departed again with great joy of us."

After that, leaving the ship and most of the party to engage in whaling, de Vries with six men, in the little yacht *Squirrel*, sailed up the bay. He passed whales at the mouth of the River and went on to Fort Nassau, which had been abandoned by the Dutch and occupied by Indians.

He elicited from a squaw the story of an English shallop that had been seized by Indians and its crew killed. At Timmer Kill, now Big Timber Creek in Gloucester County, New Jersey, more than forty Indians came aboard with furs to trade. De Vries refused to trade for furs, wanting only maize, which he calls "Turkish beans." Some of them began to play tunes with reeds, to lull the Dutchmen's suspicions, de Vries thought, and he was wary of them. The sight of English jackets worn by some of the savages made him still more doubtful of them. He stood on his guard against treachery .

Two days later, however, after an explanatory talk with a sachem, to whom he gives the name Zee Pentor, he had another session in a circle with nine chiefs, who gave him beaver-skins in token of friendship and swore a perpetual peace with him.

They refused return gifts, and he concluded that they were sincere in their desire for peace. He got his corn and returned to Zwaanendael.

He made further exploration of the river and was frozen up in the yacht in Wyngaert's Kill, probably Chester Creek, for two weeks. Escaping from this he again visited Fort Nassau and there met fifty of the Minquas, vanguard of six hundred, they said, on the warpath against the River Indians. The Minquas seemed friendly, but de Vries was cautious and left the place as soon as he could make his way through the ice, which he did with difficulty. He was almost wrecked by the great ice-floes but managed to get ashore at Reedy Island.

Here he had news of the war of the Minquas on the Sankikans and of the killing of many of the Sankikans. At last he reached his ship in great amazement that in this low latitude such great rivers could freeze. He attributed the rigor of the winter to the snow on high mountains to the northwest, from which the winds bore extreme cold down to the plains.

After a visit to Virginia he returned to Zwaanendael in March 1633 and found that, though they had caught seven whales, they had obtained little oil from them. There seemed to be nothing to do but pack up and go home, and so they did. That was the end of the manor of Zwaanendael.

The whole system of patroonship was by this time in confusion. The patroons claimed that they could not make expenses unless they were given the right to unrestricted trade in all commodities, including furs, which had been reserved by the Company. They presented "pretensions and demands" for redress of grievances. They were referred to the States-General. There were committees appointed, articles submitted, replications and rejoinders and so on and so on. But the Patroons

of Zwaanendael did not await the outcome of all this legal pother. They sold their land to the Company in February 1635 for fifteen thousand six hundred guilders and retired from the business of colonizing the Delaware. So again, twenty-six years after their discovery, the Bay and River were abandoned to the canoes of the Indians and the occasional keel of a migratory trading ship.

CHAPTER VII

OF PARCHMENTS AND SEALS

THE Chinese are popularly supposed to regard with reverence any scrap of paper upon which there are written or printed words. A quite amusing oriental trait it seems to us. Yet the influence of a similar whimsy upon the peoples of the western world is found at every step in the history of the discovery and partition of America. Hardly a voyage of exploration could be begun, hardly a right to possession could be asserted, unless it was authorized or ratified by a parchment dignified by a royal sign-manual and decorated with a large red seal. Hardy mariners might voyage upon uncharted seas, encounter untold dangers, endure dreadful hardship, make landfall upon unknown coasts, achieve the fact of discovery, but no rights accrued to them nor to anyone, unless some stay-at-home gentleman of lofty title set his soft hand to a parchment granting or confirming such rights.

It began in 1492 when the King and Queen of Spain graciously gave Columbus leave to sail the western ocean and granted him a share in whatever he found. It reached the height of glorious absurdity in 1493 when Pope Alexander VI drew a north and south line one hundred leagues west of the Azores, giving Portu-

gal all unchristian lands east of it and Spain the western half of the world. It ran its course down through the whole story of the discovery and colonization of all America. The history of the Delaware River was repeatedly affected by it.

The influence and effect of the superstition of the sealed document were thwarted and annulled frequently and, at the last, permanently by the hard unalterable fact that right, in this imperfect world, yields to might. Conquest and the strength to hold were the final arbiters of all disputes. Nevertheless history must take this influence into account.

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Spain was prompt in backing the papal bull of Alexander VI with ships and men. Though its paper title covered the whole of North America, only Florida and the southwest became its field in fact. France, finding the fisheries of Newfoundland profitable, sent Jacques Cartier in 1535 to colonize on the St. Lawrence. The attempt failed, but in 1604 Henri IV granted de Monts all the land between the fortieth and the forty-sixth parallels, from Philadelphia to north of Montreal, and the town of Port Royal was founded. The facts, her continued penetration and colonization of this northern land, gave France Canada. Her paper title to the rest of Henri IV's pretensions amounted to nothing at all.

But what was England doing? In 1496 she had given John Cabot one of those handsome parchments, bearing the great seal of the kingdom, empowering him to sail into the eastern, western or northern sea in search of islands, provinces and regions hitherto unseen by Christian people and, as a vassal of England, to possess and occupy all he found. On the twenty-fourth of the next June he had discovered North America and

planted the flag of England in its soil. By all the rules of the game this might be held to give England title to the whole continent. Why did she not take possession?

Well, there was that papal bull, giving it all to Spain. Henry VII as a loyal Catholic could not disregard that magnificent document, and Henry VIII was not only a son of the church, but a son-in-law of the King of Spain. Those facts hampered him until he divorced himself from both Catharine and the Pope. Then the sea dogs of England were unleashed. There were several futile voyages to North America before Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578 obtained a patent for discoveries to be made and died in making them. Raleigh, his brother-in-law, got another in 1584, and his abortive colony at Roanoke was England's first real attempt at a foothold in America. There were efforts toward possession of the New England coast. The cross of St. George was planted here and there, but failed to take root, until the grand effort was made in 1606. That effort was made with proper regard for all the forms and ceremonies.

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In 1606 James, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., in a handsomely engrossed parchment, greatly commended certain petitioners for their desire for the furtherance of a noble work, "which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government." This noble work, then, was to be a missionary

enterprise, the first Foreign Missionary Society? Well, no, not exclusively evangelistic. There was in it at least an element of secular purpose.

The parchment was, in fact, a charter granted to "certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other Adventurers," creating two corporations, known as The Virginia Company of London and The Virginia Company of Plymouth and licensing them to settle and colonize in America. To the London Company leave was given to plant a colony at any place on the coast of America "not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People," between the thirty-fourth and the forty-first parallels, and it was to have "all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever" for fifty miles north and fifty miles south and all the islands for a hundred miles east, with no western limit. The category of things granted seems quite exhaustive. It really did not leave much to any Indians who might have thought they owned the place. The answer, of course, is that they were not Christians and therefore had no rights at all.

To the Plymouth Company a similar grant was made between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels. The overlapping of the two grants, between the thirty-eighth and the forty-first parallels, was covered by a provision that either company might settle there, but no colony should be planted within one hundred miles of another already begun.

So pens were dipped and flourished in signs manual, wax was melted and impressed with the great seal, and the whole coast of America from Cape Fear to the Bay of Fundy was monopolized by these few "Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other

Adventurers" of England to the exclusion of the rest of the world.

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Three years later King James further fortified the London Company by giving it all the land from two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort to two hundred miles north of it and west to the Pacific Ocean, a princely donation.

But, ah! these kings, they take as well as give. James took it all back from the London Company, all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Rivers, Islands and everything, leaving it not a turf nor a twig. But Charles I was generous too. In 1632 he gave Caecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, who was "animated with a laudable and pious Zeal for extending the Christian religion and also the Territories of our Empire," the territory, in a region "hitherto uncultivated, in the parts of America and partly occupied by Savages," bounded by the ocean, the Delaware River, the fortieth parallel, the meridian of the source of the Potomac, that river to its mouth and thence by a due east line to the ocean. The fortieth parallel is the latitude of Philadelphia, hence this grant would appear to have given the entire State of Delaware to Lord Baltimore, but there was a catch in the document that ultimately deprived Baltimore of the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware and gave them to Penn, as will hereafter appear.

All this signing, sealing and delivering, this granting and forfeiting and re-granting has carried this story a little ahead of itself. To carry forward the story of England's claims to these Dutch possessions and the basis of those claims, in orderly manner, it now returns to the year 1614.

In that year, five years after Hudson's discoveries that opened this coast to the Dutch, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of

Plymouth in England, sent Captain John Smith to explore the coasts which King James had assigned to the Plymouth Company, no colony having been planted there. Smith scanned the shores from Cape Cod to Penobscot Bay and mapped them. Five years later another emissary, Thomas Dermer, investigated Long Island Sound and the next year visited Manhattan to find many Dutch traders bartering for furs. Dermer warned them off, claiming the country for the English. The Dutchmen said they had seen no English there, which was a good answer, according to the doctrine laid down by Queen Elizabeth that to acquire title to wild lands discovery must be followed by occupation.

This answer Dermer took back to London, and it disturbed King James no little, for he had just signed another parchment enlarging the Plymouth Company's charter, re-naming it The Council for New England and giving it all the land between the fortieth and the forty-eighth parallel, from Philadelphia to the Bay of Fundy and westward to the Pacific, in fee simple with unlimited powers of legislation, and government therein. It was also set forth in the document that the King was credibly informed that no other Christian people were as yet settled within these limits, wherefore he, the King, now took possession and warned off all intruders. After making such a handsome gift it was very annoying to find that this condition precedent to validity, its vacancy of all Christian settlers, was non-existent. It seemed not only to invalidate the deed in large part, but also to stultify His Majesty.

But such little things may be lived down by the simple process of ignoring them, and no difficulty was felt the next year in protesting to Holland against the Dutch West India Com-

pany's organization of a government for New Netherland, which protest was in turn ignored.

Still England preserved an appearance of confidence in the force and effect of its parchments. A Dutch ship was arrested in Plymouth harbor charged with trespassing in England's territory, the waters around Manhattan. Privy Council discussed the matter and decided to ignore the trespass. Again in 1632 in Plymouth harbor another Dutch ship was seized on a similar charge, but the Dutch government argued the matter out with so much stubbornness and so forcible a presentation of that troublesome doctrine of Queen Elizabeth that the ship was released.

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By this time in England colonization of America had become a fashionable pastime. So many noble names appeared in the list of exploiters of the new world that prestige, if not profit, was promised to those who played the game. Thomas Yong, son of the late Mr. Gregory Yong, Grocer, of London, was allured by the prospect. Charles I, with characteristic generosity, gave him in 1633 a royal commission to discover, occupy and exploit without limit.

On the twenty-fourth of July 1634 he entered Delaware Bay with a twofold purpose, first, to find a way thereby to the great mediterranean sea that opened into the Pacific Ocean, in other words, the dear old Northwest Passage, and, second, to take possession of the Bay and River territory, for had he not a royal commission giving him the right so to do? Who could gainsay that?

On the first of September at the falls at Sankikan—Trenton Falls—he surprised a Dutch ship in the very act of poaching his preserves. He rose to the occasion. With all imaginable

dignity he had the intruders brought aboard his ship and down into his cabin where he sat awaiting them, backed by the Lion and the Unicorn, St. George and the Dragon and all the power of mighty England.

Fixing his eye upon the trembling Dutchmen he demanded "what they made heere?" Trading only, nothing more, they faltered. Had they any commission from King Charles? No, but from the Governor of New Netherlands. "I know no such governer, nor no such place as New Netherlands." Could any answer have been more complete or more humiliating to the culprits? But that was not all. It was followed by the information that this river belonged to his Majesty of England and that Yong had been "sent hither with a Royall Commission under the Great Seale to take possession thereof." No wonder this "newes strooke them cold at heart," as he "perceaved by their countenance."

Then—proud moment!—he displayed the commission, seal, signature and all, and the day was won. They had to confess it was better than theirs. Indeed they admitted they had never "seene a larger Commission." Overwhelmed by its size and magnificence, "they parted civilly though very sadly" from him and went home.

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Yong did not discover the Passage, nor did he colonize the River. Satisfied with having vindicated his sovereign's exclusive ownership of it, he, too, went home. But the Dutch, the stubborn Dutch, came back, quite as if they knew no such King as Charles and no such country as England, and went on trading with the Indians.

So far this contest had been waged with words, finger-shaking and nose-thumbing, but the very next year showed

action. The Great Anglo-Dutch War of 1635 was fought on the Delaware.

George Holmes of Virginia evidently felt that England's claim to the river had degenerated into a mere topic of conversation, something like the weather, of which Mark Twain said that everybody was always talking about it, but nobody ever *did* anything. To George came a strong impulse to do it, *now*. He declared war on the Dutch and, before they knew they were at war, he struck.

At the head of an army of fifteen he took Fort Nassau at his first assault without losing a man. Nor were there any casualties among the Dutch, for there were no Dutchmen in the fort. It had been abandoned for several years. This was swift action, but the reaction of the Dutch was as swift.

Governor Wouter van Twiller—Wouter, the Doubter, in Irving's phrase—hung not long in dubiety. He sent a ship from Manhattan, gathered up the English army, sent them all back home, under the chaperonage of de Vries, and that ended the war.

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE EARL OF NEW ALBION

F ALL the paper principalities magically created by these royal pens the most gorgeous was that erected by Charles I in 1632, when, with truly kingly disregard of his grant to Lord Baltimore one month before, he gave to Sir Edmund Plowden and his associates a tract of land running one hundred and twenty miles along the coast from Sandy Hook to Cape May and extending, in the form of a square, the same distance inland, including also "the Isle of Plowden or Long Isle," that is to say Long Island, and "all and singular islands and isles, floating or to float, and being in the sea within ten leagues of the shore of said region."

The description of the square by metes and bounds is rather rickety, but seems to embrace the entire territory of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and a large part of Pennsylvania. Charles Stuart certainly owned all this land, because Charles's great-great-great-grandfather, Henry Tudor, had kindly allowed John Cabot to sail on his private ocean, the Atlantic, in 1497, and John had then planted a flag on Cape Breton Island. This, of course, gave Charles a clear title to everything

from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. Nobody would dispute that.

The charter was, by the King's direction, signed by the Deputy-General of Ireland in Dublin June twenty-first, 1634. Within the year two of Plowden's associates died and the others assigned their interests to his sons, so that Sir Edmund was, in effect, the sole owner.

But it was not a mere grant of land. The charter also erected this province into a County Palatine under the name New Albion and created Sir Edmund Earl Palatine thereof. Now a County Palatine was about the nearest thing to an independent kingdom. Earls Palatine were "endowed with the superiority of whole counties, so that all the landholders held feudally of them, in which they received the whole profits of the courts and exercised all the regalia or royal rights, nominated the sheriffs, held their own councils and acted as independent princes, except in the owing of homage and fealty to the King." It is shortly put by Bracton, when he says that Earls Palatine had regal powers in all things, save allegiance to the King. They had their own parliaments and their own courts, and the King's writ did not run in their dominion. Thus it seems not too sonorous a title when such a noble was addressed as "the Right Honourable and Mighty Lord Edmund, by Divine Providence Lord Proprietor, Earl Palatine, Governour and Captain-Generall of the Province of New Albion."

What, then, had Lord Edmund done that he should be thus at once enriched and exalted? Why, he had at his own great charges and expenses discovered Long Island and these adjacent regions. His name may not be found in the history books among the great discoverers, but what avails such an omission against a statement in a royal charter? Moreover, he

had "amply and copiously peopled the same with five hundred persons." No other record of this colony is to be found, but what of that? Furthermore, having found this region "inhabited by a barbarous and wild people, not having any notice of the Divine Being," he was laudably desirous of "promoting the Christian religion" among them, as well as "extending our imperial territories," so, at least, the King affirmed. With such discoveries, such colonization and such pious intention to his credit, the reward seems no more than adequate.

It might be supposed that Lord Edmund, thus endowed with a territory larger than Holland, upon which he had never set foot nor even laid eyes, would have hastened across the ocean to view his new domain. But, no, there were weighty matters to be decided, extensive plans to be formulated, a government to be designed, not to speak of a new title to be savored and enjoyed among a people more appreciative of titles than those "barbarous and wild people, having no notice of the Divine Being," nor of an Earl Palatine. Lord Edmund was not precipitate.

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First, of course, there must be a scheme for the nobility of New Albion and estates to support the new titles. His favorite daughter he made Lady Barbara, Baroness of Richneck, and gave her an estate in New Jersey of "twenty-four miles compasse," adjacent to his own manor of Watcessit, near the present site of Salem, which manor was twenty miles broad and fifty miles long and had three hundred thousand acres of arable land. There were seventeen other children to be ennobled and enriched, and it could have been no short nor easy task to satisfy them all.

Then, plainly, there must be a chivalric order and in the

embroidery of this part of his work he displayed both loftiness of soul and warmth of imagination. The name of the new order gives a clue to its purpose. It was "The Albion Knights for the Conversion of the Twenty-three Kings."

He had been told that within his domain there were twenty-three Indian tribes, each with a King, and all of them without "notice of the Divine Being." *Noblesse oblige*—his duty as an Earl Palatine was clear. The Twenty-three Kings must be converted. The unnumbered commonalty among his new subjects might be left in spiritual darkness, but the royal Twenty-three must be converted, must be made good Indians, if not in one way then in another. To that work the Knights of Conversion were pledged.

Lord Edmund's prospectus soliciting joiners for his noble service club presented the matter clearly and attractively to all gentlemen who were out of employ and not bent on labor. Let any such come to New Albion, join the Knights "and live like a devout apostolique soldier, with the sword and the word, to civilize and convert them [the Twenty-three] to be his majesty's lieges." The Word or the Sword, take your choice, O ye Twenty-three! What could be fairer than that? Then, as an added attraction, he pointed out that a true Knight might also, "by trading with them for furs, get his ten shillings a day." Join the Knights, see the world and combine pleasure and piety with profit! No modern "service club" has a more enticing slogan!

Of course there was a decoration for the Order, a medal on a ribband. It displayed an open book, the Word, a hand grasping a dagger, on its point a crown, Salvation at the point of the Sword. Even the unlettered savage could understand pictures and take the hint. In the surrounding circle were twenty-two

Indian heads *couped*, as heraldry expresses it, meaning "cut off," and one whole Indian kneeling—one out of twenty-three.

Then a government for the new realm had to be devised, at the top the Lord Edmund, next a deputy governor, a secretary of state, a council of state or upper house of parliament of twelve, a lower house of thirty burgesses, a court of chancery, county courts, sheriffs, clerks and so on. What wonder that eight years were spent in preparations such as these before Lord Edmund first saw America in 1642?

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Before leaving England he had had notice of "the entry and intrusions of certain aliens" on his domain. He therefore armed himself with letters of authority to the governor and council of Virginia requiring them "to give speedy and real assistance" to the lawful claimant, Lord Edmund. Governor William Berkeley accordingly wrote to the governor of the Swedes on the Delaware admonishing him to submit to the Earl Palatine and to recognize his "title and dominion."

Still more disturbing news informed Lord Edmund that a parcel of English runagates from New Haven had settled on his land, yes, on his very own manor of Watcessit. To meet this contingency he procured from the complaisant King Charles a letter denouncing these squatters and declaring them public enemies. Armed with this he sailed up the Delaware to Varckens Kill, Salem Creek, where the English had seated themselves. There is unfortunately no sufficient account of the reception of their liege lord by these outlaws from New Haven. It is said that their officers swore obedience to him as governor. If they did, it is safe to say they never yielded the obedience they had sworn, for Lord Edmund sailed away and in the next year some of these same English swore allegiance to the Crown of Sweden

at the request of Governor Printz. Those who refused, Printz ejected.

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The Earl returned to Virginia. He came near losing his life when a mutinous crew marooned him, "without food, clothes or arms," on an island "in the Bay of Virginia . . . inhabited by no man or other animal save wolves and bears." He was rescued after four days, "half dead and as black as the ground."

Determined to assert his authority and thus repair his injured dignity, he gave passes to ships to trade with the Indians on the Delaware, but the Swedish governor, Printz, stopped them all. He was very wroth with Printz for refusing homage and acting unpleasantly in many particulars, and he told Governor Stuyvesant in Manhattan, that "when an opportunity should offer, he would go there and take possession of the river." But apparently no opportunity ever offered. He never established himself in his manor of Watcessit, nor anywhere else in the county palatine. The swearing in of the English at Varcken's Kill was the only exercise of sovereignty the Earl of New Albion ever enjoyed. He returned to England in 1648, without having possessed an acre of the nine million the King had given him or converted the least of the Twenty-three.

He never came back. The battle for his rights was thenceforward carried on at long range with paper weapons. He published a book, entitled "A Description of the Province of New Albion. And a Direction for Adventurers with small means to get two for one, and good land freely: And for Gentlemen and all Servants, Labourers and Artificers to live plentifully," and so on, for half a page. It told of "Viscounts, Barons, Baronets, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, Adventurers and Planters," forty-four in number, who were bound by indenture to bring

and settle three thousand able trained men in his province. It offered five thousand acres to any adventurer who would settle fifty men, or, if the adventurer were not so adventurous as all that, he could settle one man and get a hundred acres. It was bargain day in the palatinate, but buyers were lacking. None of the viscounts or other gentlemen of quality ever fulfilled his obligation.

Lord Edmund died in 1659. More than a hundred years later one Charles Varlo purchased from his heirs a third interest in the palatinate. In 1784 he came to America, "not doubting the enjoyment of his property." He published a pamphlet in which he offered "The Finest Part of America, to be Sold or Lett," which was all Long Island and the great square as described in the original grant. He travelled through the palatinate distributing copies and warning all people to buy land only from him. He engaged legal counsel and "took every step possible," he says, "to recover the estate by law or in chancery, but in vain, because judge and jury were landowners therein, consequently parties concerned."

So he went home, and that was the last of New Albion.

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And so it had gone on and was to go on for years, this business of grants and charters and royal pretensions, with claim and counterclaim, protest and counter-protest, the English trying to frighten the Dutch with King James and King Charles as bogey-men, the Dutch discomfiting the English with the ghost of Queen Elizabeth, the Swedes standing fast under the banner of Queen Christina, parchments crackling like musketry-fire as they shook them in the faces of each other, a battle of words and windy phrases, with no apparent prospect of a decision. But all the while facts were silently shaping themselves to over-

ride theory, to put an end to argument and to determine the contest. The question of ownership of the Delaware territory, as between Swedes, Dutch and English, was decided at last neither by law nor by logic, but by sheer weight of numbers, and this result had been implicit in the situation from the beginning.

BOOK TWO: THE SWEDES

CHAPTER IX

OF THE SWEDES AND THE GREAT GUSTAVUS

THE history of the Delaware during its domination by the Dutch and Swedes, taken by itself, is but the chronicle of the simple affairs of a few simple people, scattered infrequently along the River shore in meagre settlements and straggling villages. It derives its importance from its consequences. For its interest one must rely upon the drama always inherent in the play of personality among even the simplest folk, whose characters and motives are disclosed by their acts. Though only a scanty handful of these actors can be reconstructed today from the surviving records of the time, a few players on a narrow stage, their performance displays human nature in all its variety and in an epitome the more sharply focussed because of their fewness. It presents the tragi-comedy of mankind in a nutshell.

In contrast with the simplicity of their little play, the narrowness of their stage, a thin strip of rivershore fringing a vast primeval forest, in colorful vivid contrast is the mighty pageant, the overwhelming drama of seventeenth-century Europe, their

birthplace and their spiritual home. The nature of these people, the causes of their coming, the reasons for their successes and failures, can be clearly understood only by a student of the antecedent and contemporary history of their native lands. Even faintly to shadow them on the screen of this narrative, one must throw on them the dim light of a brief reference to that history.

Behind the Dutch, who attempted the settlement of New Netherland, was the background of Holland, alive with a sturdy people animated to a purposeful heroism by the necessities of their physical situation and by their inborn propensities as well as by the oppression of alien rulers. With one hand they held back the sea that would have drowned their homes, and with the other fought and traded, with equal willingness and equal success, throughout the whole world. Fighters and traders and lovers of the homeland were the Dutch, and in the predominance of these characteristics one finds the reasons for the methods of their attempted colonization of America and the reasons why they failed.

Next in chronological order among the Delaware's early settlers were the Swedes, now about to make their first appearance in this story. A short survey of their native environment, their national character and their then recent history will be useful.

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The territory of Sweden in the first half of the seventeenth century was perhaps twice as extensive as now. It included all of modern Sweden, also Finland, Esthonia and Ingria. It thus held all the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia and the Gulf of Finland, one side of the Baltic Sea and nearly half of the other. Its natural wealth lay in its metals, chiefly copper and iron, and in its vast forests. Its industries of manufacture and its organ-

ized commerce were relatively unimportant and far behind those of England and the Netherlands.

With all its extent of seacoast and all the natural materials for their construction at hand, wood, iron, pitch and hemp, the Swedes built few ships, nor were they noteworthy as seamen. It will be seen that in their efforts at colonization they relied largely on the Dutch for ships and sailors.

The population of Sweden was scanty in proportion to its area, perhaps a million in all, of whom about one-eighth were city dwellers. There was a sharp class distinction between the nobility and the burghers and peasants, with no substantial middle class to bridge the gap. The body and strength of the nation was in its peasantry, who were engaged in the mines and forests and in the tillage of an ungenerous soil. They were not serfs. They were freemen, a hardy folk, these peasants, inured to labor, active, intensely patriotic, deeply and sincerely religious, extremely superstitious and generally ignorant and illiterate. But they were skilled in many homely arts and crafts. They made their own wagons, sleds, plows, harrows and lesser farming tools, their own household furniture, their own wooden cups, spoons and platters. Shoes they fabricated out of leather, birchbark or wood. The women wove cloth and made it into clothing, knitted stockings and were competent in all household industries. From this class, including both Swedes and Finns, most of the early settlers on the Delaware were drawn.

The law of the country was a conglomerate of old Swedish law, derived from the West Gothic and East Gothic codes, affected somewhat by the Roman law and supplemented by the "law of Moses." The language was simply a collection of dialects, with no standards of authority to govern it. There was practically no written literature, except sermons, hymns and

sacred poems, and no practice of the liberal arts. Their folk-songs and folk-lore, including the sagas, were transmitted orally from generation to generation.

A drab picture this, promising little in the way of national importance, not to say glory, yet this little kingdom throughout the seventeenth century was one of the chief European military powers and for twenty years in the first half of that century held the eyes of the world fascinated by a career of military achievement almost unparalleled in modern history. Sweden was the most admired, the most feared and the most courted single power in Europe, in an age when most of that continent was an armed camp or a bloody battle-field. This pre-eminence it owed to one great captain. The history of Sweden from 1611 to 1632 is the story of Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North.

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Although Gustavus Adolphus fell in battle six years before the first Swedish expedition to the Delaware and had done little more than countenance the efforts that before his death were making toward that end, it is certain that, but for his pushing Sweden into the outstanding position she then occupied, the project of colonization in America would never have been even mooted. In this sense he was responsible for the intrusion of Sweden into the New World and must therefore have at least a brief notice here.

On the death of his father in 1611 Gustavus Adolphus came to the throne, a boy of seventeen, to find Sweden a small and unconsidered country, its people financially distressed, its treasury depleted, actually at war with Denmark, Russia and Poland. His first act and one of his wisest was to make Axel Oxenstierna, a young man of twenty-eight, his prime minister. Throughout his reign these two worked together for Sweden's

welfare and glory, and Oxenstierna carried on the work for twenty-two years after Gustavus's death.

Leaving Poland and Russia, whose military activities against Sweden were temporarily dormant, to await his convenience, the young king struck sharply at Denmark, and, though he was not successful at every point, he harassed the Danes to such an extent that they were glad to make peace after little more than a year's fighting. Within two years he marched his army into Russia, and two years after that Russia sued for peace, ceded to Sweden the provinces of Ingria and Carelia, with half a dozen fortresses, and paid a heavy indemnity. He then attacked the Poles in their province of Livonia, besieged and captured Riga and occupied the province of Courland. The truce of 1622 gave him all Livonia and part of Courland. Then came his truly marvellous, though brief, career in the Thirty Years War.

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At the beginning of the seventeenth century nine-tenths of the people of the northern part of Germany were Protestants, but their rulers were Catholics, bent on suppression of the reformed religion. There was oppression, there were uprisings savagely repressed, and at last in 1618, open rebellion in Bohemia. King Ferdinand, a scion of the House of Hapsburg and cousin of the Emperor of Germany, was deposed. Thus began the war, a contest marked by frightful atrocities, embroiling all Europe, devastating Germany and setting back the clock of civilization in middle Europe a hundred years.

For twelve years Gustavus, though much solicited to aid the Protestant cause, held aloof. He had his hands full, not only with Sweden's own wars, (that with Poland having broken out afresh in 1625), but also with the rebuilding of Sweden's

internal governmental and financial structure. At last, in 1629, another truce with Poland was effected, Sweden retaining Livonia and gaining certain other Polish territory.

He had now reached the mature age of thirty-five. He had fought six campaigns against Poland, two against Denmark and Russia. He had reconditioned the internal affairs of his country, so that it could stand the tremendous strains of these prolonged conflicts. He had built up an army that had no superior in Europe in all its arms, infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineers. His troops were swift on the march, bold in attack, equally steady in victory and defeat and disciplined beyond comparison with all others of that time. He had learned all that the classic masters of the art of war had to teach, and had developed his own art to meet the changed conditions imposed by gunpowder, a development so marked in its departure from ancient methods and so successful that he is called the Father of Modern Warfare.

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By the year 1630 the forces of the Emperor had overrun almost the entire territory bounded by the Rhine and the Oder, the Alps and the Baltic. The Protestant cause was at its lowest ebb. Then it was that Gustavus asked his country to throw itself into the war. The answer of the Swedes was full-throated and unanimous. Thus Gustavus became the champion of a cause already so wrecked that the bravest and strongest might have been excused for shirking entrance to the quarrel in its favor.

He had no allies worthy of the name. The other Protestant countries, Denmark, Holland, England, were either neutral or merely lukewarm in their friendship. France offered money, but no men. The German Protestant principalities were over-

awed by the Emperor's victories and at odds among themselves. Little Sweden stood forth, a David against a rich, powerful and victorious alliance. But Gustavus was the greatest captain of his age. In that one fact was the answer to all the problems, the justification of the attempt, the promise of success.

At the head of thirteen thousand men, he landed in Germany in 1630, to match his strength against the Emperor's one hundred and sixty thousand, of whom one hundred thousand were in the field under Tilly and Wallenstein. He occupied Stettin and cleared Pomerania of the imperial forces. Reinforcements raised his forces to forty thousand. He overran Mecklenburg and reinstated the Protestant dukes. Then the Elector of Saxony took heart and joined his troops with the Swedes.

At Breitenfeld, with twenty thousand Swedes and sixteen thousand Saxons under his command, he attacked the great Tilly, whose army was about equal in number. Within three hours the Saxons, composing Gustavus's entire left wing and almost half of his army, were in full flight, the Elector leading them. In four hours more Tilly's army was an army no longer, seven thousand were dead, six thousand captured, the rest had fled in every direction. Gustavus's genius, exercised in a moment of extreme peril, had maneuvered his army in such fashion as to snatch it from the jaws of defeat and give it a victory as complete as it was astounding. This was the first great battle of the modern era of war. Also it marked the turning point in that long drawn out conflict. The morale of his antagonists was shattered. Allies flocked to him. He was the hero of Protestant Europe.

Now he pushed straight on into Germany, taking city after

city. He mastered the whole country from the Elbe to the Rhine, a space of a hundred leagues, full of fortified towns. Meeting a new advance of Tilly, he forced a passage across the river Lech in the face of a foe drawn up on the opposite bank in an apparently impregnable position, the first time such a feat had been accomplished in modern warfare. He drove Tilly back and pursued him into Bavaria, never pausing until Tilly died of his wounds in Ingolstadt. Augsburg, Ulm, Munich succumbed to his attacks. He fought Wallenstein at Lützen in 1632 and defeated him. After the battle he was found dead on the field, having been struck down while leading his cavalry. So ended the career of Gustavus Adolphus on the field of honor.

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In person Gustavus was tall, broad shouldered, of powerful frame. His hair and beard were yellow, his eyes light blue, very expressive and luminous. His forehead was high, his features strongly marked, especially his Roman nose. He excelled in horsemanship and all manly exercises. He was courageous to the extent of ignoring danger. He fought at the head of his troops, instead of directing them from the rear, and he rejoiced in battle as has no other great captain since Alexander.

His intellect was remarkably broad and vigorous and his learning, in language and *belles lettres* as well as in the sciences, was comprehensive. His piety was deep and sincere.

In disposition he was kindly, generous and humane. A stern disciplinarian, his rule made not only for efficiency in his men, but for mercy to the unfortunate people through whose countries he fought. In an age when the most hideous atrocity, the most dreadful savagery, the most unbridled license were

regarded as the natural consequence of victory, the Swedish army stood without peer in its humanity to the conquered, in its respect for the life and property of the noncombatant.

His work as a statesman, in the development of his country's institutions, the advancement of learning, the upbuilding of industry and extension of commerce was noteworthy, but on his martial leadership and his contributions to the art of war his fame must chiefly rest. No material advance in that art had been made since the time of Julius Caesar. Gustavus was indeed the Father of Modern Warfare and his name ranks in military annals with the five other great captains, Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Frederick and Napoleon.

CHAPTER X

OF A PROSPECTUS AND A ROPEWALK

BEFORE the days of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden had not been an overseas trading country. She did sell timber, copper, iron and grain, she did buy cloth, leather, salt and various articles of luxury. Trade in that limited sense was carried on, but chiefly in foreign ships and in foreign markets. There was no mercantile activity in Sweden such as that which made Holland's ports great market places. But the spirit of organized commercial adventure was spreading over all western Europe. The vast riches that Spain had garnered in America, Portugal's profitable traffic with the East, England's increasing participation in foreign trade, Holland's enrichment through her enlarged mercantile activities, all these were bound to stir the less adventurous, less commercially minded northern nations to emulation. The fever spread from one to the next. At last even Sweden was infected.

Communal companies were organized, general trading companies, companies to monopolize the copper trade, to export iron, to exploit the commerce of Finland and Livonia, to traffic with Russia and England. It will be seen that none of these involved the exercise of much imagination, commonplace

homely projects they were, all of them. But in 1632 a more romantic enterprise was mooted, a project for the transport of silks and spices overland from Persia. Visions of camels and caravans danced in the heads of staid Swedish merchants for a while, but it all came to nought. That sort of thing was not natural to Sweden, and Sweden was slow to learn new tricks. Even the copper companies, the iron companies and the other trading companies that had been attempted were failures for one reason or another, all the reasons being basically one, Sweden's commercial ineptitude. But, fail though they did, they ploughed the ground and harrowed it for the seed that was to grow and blossom in Sweden's first overseas colony. That seed was sown by a Dutchman, no stranger in this narrative, Willem Usselinx.

For thirty years that indomitable promoter had campaigned in Holland for the organization of a great trading and colonizing association. He had given most of his time to it and spent most of his money on it. By 1621 he was seriously embarrassed in his finances, or in the lack of any. His creditors were pursuing him. When in that year he saw the fruition of his efforts in the newly formed Dutch West India Company, he looked to it for relief through pecuniary recognition of his services. The Company failed to recognize its obligation to him.

He appealed to Prince Maurice, who passed him on to the States-General with a letter commending his great and useful services, declaring that he deserved to be properly rewarded and asking their High Mightinesses to satisfy his just claim. The States-General passed him back to the Company, with a letter praising his zeal and affection for the Company's welfare, recommending that his claim be examined and considered favorably. Usselinx gave it up.

Broken in fortune, disappointed in his just expectations, he was not yet, even at the age of fifty-four, a defeated man. With the same courage that had carried him through all those years of striving to realize his dream, he resolved, as he said, not to trouble himself any more about the Company but to try his luck elsewhere. He looked about for fresh fields.

The brilliant campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus in Russia and Poland had focussed the eyes of all Europe on Sweden, that parvenu among the powers. There was now a lull in the fighting, a truce with Polish Sigismund having been signed. Gustavus was at home, setting his house in order. The strain of the wars was felt in the heavy taxes. Sweden needed more sources of wealth, and Usselinx was the man to tap them for her. He went to Sweden.

Gustavus gave him an audience that lasted for six hours, approved his project and commissioned him to establish a "General Trading Company for Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica," thereafter more handily called "The South Company." Its charter gave it a monopoly of trading rights almost as wide as the world. Incidental purposes were colonization and spreading the Gospel among uncivilized peoples. To compensate Usselinx, he was to have a tenth of one per cent on all goods bought and sold.

The prospectus of the company was a most alluring document. It presented dazzling possibilities as practical certainties. There was Spain, the Midas of nations, see what dividends it had drawn from similar enterprises. "It is well-nigh incredible," truly said the prospectus, "what immense treasures, wealth and profits have accrued for the past hundred and thirty years, and are still accruing, to the Spanish nation, from Africa, Asia and America, so vast that the receipts from America alone

yearly amount to 20,000,000 riksdaler, or 30,000,000 Swedish dollars, for the most part clear gain, both for the king and for his subjects, comprising gold, silver, quicksilver, pearls, emeralds, amber, cochineal, indigo, skins, sugar, tobacco, all kinds of spices, gum and valuable woods, not including some millions of ducats, which (besides other outlay) the said king bestows upon his servants as wages, upon governors of provinces, bishopries, prebendaries, president and lords of council, and many other offices, of which some are worth annually 5,000 or 6,000, 8,000 or 10,000, and several 100,000 riksdaler." And then, to invest it with the odor of sanctity, there were the Christian missions to be established among natives "heretofore living in abominable heathenish idolatry and all manner of ungodliness."

What a picture! All conceivable luxuries and elegances coming in shiploads to Sweden, poor pinched frost-bitten Sweden, gold, pearls, sugar and spices—millions of riksdaler to be distributed in lavish largesse among the stockholders by an open-handed monarch swamped with riksdalers and ducats, money for all, offices for all, worth 5,000 riksdalers for the very lowest grade, with capital prizes of 100,000 for the bishops, no doubt, and the prebendaries, who would supervise the salvation of the savages. All that from America alone, with Asia, Africa and Magellanica as factors of safety. What a picture!

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Then began the campaign for capital. Usselinx and other agents of the company, flaunting the prospectus, travelled all over the kingdom, in the country and in the cities, "soliciting subscriptions from the rich and poor, the learned and ignorant, villagers and farmers." The King must have been convinced, for he subscribed four hundred and fifty thousand dalers, the bishops and clergy a hundred thousand (think of those be-

nighted savages!), the prime minister, Oxenstierna, other high officials (salaries! salaries! salaries!), the officers of the army, all sorts of people of affluence or high position signed on the dotted line. Incredible as it may seem, when they added up the figures, they found the total was less than enough. The project showed signs of withering.

Undaunted, Usselinx redoubled his efforts. He combed the kingdom all over again. In every town, every village he spread his net. Nobody in all Sweden, who had one riksdaler to rub against another, lacked an opportunity to turn the two into four, six, eight. But still the total was insufficient. Unimaginative Sweden!

Worse than that, there was a sad disproportion between the amounts promised and the sums paid. The King was off to the wars again, his obligation overlooked. Usselinx followed him into Prussia, asked him to pay his first instalment, came back without it. The other subscribers followed the royal example. The company's bank book was mostly blank pages.

But they had to do something for the stockholders. Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica, the gold and pearls and the heathen, might have to wait, but something must be done, so they started a glass factory. Then they established a ropewalk and a linen mill. Usselinx was discouraged, but not yet defeated. He went for the King again, and the King went for the others, ordered them to pay their first instalments. But they did not, nor did the King.

The company almost sent a ship to Africa, very nearly sent one to the West Indies, but not quite. The glass factory went out of business. The workmen sued Usselinx for their wages and put him in jail. At last it was plain even to this most optimistic man that he was trying to revive a corpse. Poor Usselinx! with

eight years more added to the thirty years of futile effort, his grand project for commerce, colonization and Christianizing savages in Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica had ravelled out into a bankrupt glass factory and a ropewalk. He left Sweden.

In Holland he made one last effort to collect his dues from the Dutch company and failed. Then what? Confession of defeat? The relaxed hands and vacant eyes of the beaten old man sitting in the sun on a park bench? No, not for Willem. He was off again, to Germany this time to tell the Germans about the wonderful possibilities of trade, colonization and missionary work in Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica. The Germans were cold. Again Holland was solicited, with no better results. Then he enlarged his plan, proposed an international company, its subscribers all nations, its field the world.

Meanwhile the South Company had been merged with another, The Ship Company, under the name, United South Ship Company, which owned a certain ship of which more will be heard, the *Kalmar Nyckel.* After that there was a New South Company with Usselinx, back again in Sweden, as general director. That faded out. He tried France, England, the Hanse Towns. Nothing could stop him but all-devouring Time. At the age of seventy-six he surrendered, settled down in Holland to live four years more.

Usselinx had failed. No doubt that was the verdict of his contemporaries. No doubt many a thrifty stay-at-home neighbor of the old man, during those last four years, held up, as a warning to ambitious youth, this poor deluded greybeard, whose grand ideas had ruined him. Grand ideas are dangerous things. They will run away with a man, impoverish him, wear him out

body and soul. They feed on the brains of the men who engender them, and often and often they kill their begetters, yet, being themselves immortal, they immortalize their victims. The names of Usselinx's canny neighbors are long since forgotten, his name has survived three hundred years.

CHAPTER XI

OF TWO SWEDES AND THREE DUTCHMEN

SSELINX'S idea had taken root in the minds of others, Klas Fleming's for one. Klas Larsson Fleming was one of Sweden's strongest men. He held many important offices in its government, and in all of them showed fine ability as well as great energy. He was the reorganizer and upbuilder of the Swedish navy. When the College of Commerce, a department of the government to foster trade, was organized in 1637 he was made its president. He had been interested in those various trading companies, the South, the South Ship and the rest. He had seen them fail, but he never lost faith in the idea they had been unable to realize.

Another was Axel Gustafsson Oxenstierna, Gustavus Adolphus's prime minister. When Gustavus fell at Lützen in 1632, his daughter and successor, Christina, was but six years old. Oxenstierna as head of the commission of five holding the regency became the virtual ruler of Sweden. His power lasted until after Christina was crowned at the age of eighteen. Then her jealousy of him drove him into retirement. He was beyond all comparison the greatest statesman Sweden had produced, as honest as he was sagacious, as patriotic as he was powerful.

He reorganized the government to bear the burden of the great war in which it was engaged. He inspired the leaders of the Protestant cause to fresh and finally successful efforts. His military genius enabled him to plan the campaigns in which Sweden's army led its allies. Richelieu said that he was "an inexhaustible source of well-matured counsels." Cromwell called him "the great man of the continent."

In the minds of these two men the seed sown by poor old thwarted Usselinx germinated, took root and came to fruition, but though one Dutchman had planted them, two or three others were needed to water them.

Samuel Blommaert, Patroon Blommaert of Zwaanendael, was one of these. There had been talk of a new company, a copper company, to organize Sweden's trade in one of its most important products. Blommaert knew all about the copper trade in foreign lands, Guinea, for example. He was, it is true, a director of the Dutch West India Company, with which the new company must compete, but he was "disgusted" with it, as he said, and as willing as Usselinx had been to help the Swedes.

Peter Spiring Silfverkrona—born Spiring in Holland, ennobled as Silfverkrona in Sweden—was another. He was the son of a rich Dutch merchant, engaged in business in Sweden. He was in this new project from the start. Oxenstierna consulted them both. Plans were discussed for the trade in Guinea. Africa seemed about to meet Sweden, when another Dutchman intervened.

He was not a born Dutchman, this new man, Peter Minuit. He was born of Huguenot parents at Wesel on the Rhine. French by descent, German by birth, but Dutch by adoption. He had come to Holland in 1625, had been employed by the

Dutch West India Company and had served it well. He had bought Manhattan from the Indians, built Fort Amsterdam and been director of the colony for six years. During this time quarrels had arisen between the Company and its progeny, the Patroons. The Company seemed to believe that Minuit was partial to the Patroons. He was recalled. So here was another man "disgusted" with the Company and ready for other service. He renewed his old acquaintance with Blommaert.

There now were three Dutchmen planning Sweden's entrance into world commerce, and two of them knew all about the Dutch Company's American territory, knew all about that great South River country, unsettled, even unguarded by the Dutch. They told Spiring about it and Oxenstierna and Fleming. Spiring liked the African project, but Blommaert had been won over from his original plan by Minuit, who talked only two things, furs and a colony, a New Sweden in that far-off land of great possibilities. Sweden is a cold country. "Furs" sounded well in the ears of the Swedes. "New Sweden" must have appealed to the statesman in Oxenstierna and Fleming. The plan of Minuit and Blommaert won the day.

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The New Sweden Company was organized, with a proposed capital of thirty-six thousand florins, about eighteen thousand dollars. Blommaert and his friends subscribed one half, Fleming, Spiring and the Oxenstierna family the other. It was given exclusive right to trade on the Delaware for twenty years. Fleming was made director of the Company. Blommaert was commissioned to buy merchandise in Holland for trade with the Indians, and Minuit was appointed chief of the first expedition. The company's organization was completed in

February 1637, but the preparations for the voyage took a long time.

Two vessels were provided, one a ship, the *Kalmar Nyckel*—Key of Kalmar—named after a fortress guarding the harbor of the city of Kalmar, and the other a yacht, the *Vogel Grip*—Bird Griffin—both belonging to the old United South Ship Company. But then there was difficulty about sailors. They were infrequent in Sweden, so about half of the crews were hired in Holland. The government supplied thirty muskets and a ton and a half of powder, also twenty-three soldiers, under Captain Mans Nilsson Kling. Jan Hindrickson van de Waeter, a Dutchman, was skipper of the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and Michel Symonssen, another Dutchman, first mate. Andrian Joransen commanded the *Vogel Grip*. Hendrick Huygen, also a Dutchman, was appointed commissioner for the new colony.

It was September before the ships arrived at Gothenburg to take on their cargo of duffels, axes, knives, tobacco pipes, mirrors, gilded chains and rings and other gewgaws that were to be traded for furs, besides the equipment and supplies for the expedition. It was November before they sailed. They were separated in the North Sea by storms. The *Kalmar Nyckel* put in at the Texel in December, leaking and lacking a mast. The *Vogel Grip* appeared soon after in a similar condition. December thirty-first they set sail again. It was the middle of March 1638 when they sailed up the Delaware

CHAPTER XII

OF A LANDFALL AND A LITTLE FORT

SPRING comes early to southern Delaware. To this band of pioneers, crowded in these two little vessels for more than three months of a winter on the north Atlantic, the sweet odors of Spring from the wooded shores and the sight of vernal greenery were too seductive. They could not wait until they reached their appointed landing. They made their first landfall at a point near the mouth of Mispillion Creek for relaxation and refreshment. "The land was so grateful and agreeable to them," that they named it Paradise Point.

Minquas Kill, now Christiana Creek, was the destination fixed by their instructions. About two miles up the Kill, at the site of the city of Wilmington, where the ridge of the watershed dividing the valleys of the Christiana and the Brandywine pushing out a nose of rocks, makes a natural landing place, they anchored. As an act of ceremony, signalizing their intent to take possession of the land, they fired a "Swedish salute," two guns. The little sloop, which they had brought along, was made ready, and Minuit with some of his men set out for further exploration. They sailed up the Kill several miles, landed and went back some distance into the country, "but neither found

nor observed any sign or vestige of Christian people." So far, so good, the country seemed unoccupied.

Indians soon appeared on the shore near the ship, and the ceremony of purchasing land from the Indians was under way aboard the *Kalmar Nyckel.* The sachems, Mattahorn, Mitatsimint, Elupacken, Mahomen and Chiton were the vendors. The New Sweden Company "under the protection and patronage of the most illustrious and most mighty [eleven-year-old] Princess and Virgin, Christina, elected Queen of the Swedes, Goths and Wends," was the vendee. So much is fairly certain. But just how much land was sold and bought is a little in doubt.

Four of the crew of the *Kalmar Nyckel,* on their return to Sweden, made affidavit that the sachems sold "all the land, as many days' journeys on all places and parts of the river [Minquas] as they [the Swedes] requested." The description seems a bit vague. Other evidence seems to show that Mitatsimint sold them the land from Minquas Kill down to Boomptiens Udde, that is Bombay Hook, and the other sachems the land from the Minquas Kill to the Schuylkill. The western boundary, as usual, was about where the sun sets. So much for the Swedes' claims. What of the Indians?

Well, the Indians were more conservative in their estimate of the purchase. In 1651 Mattahorn asserted that Minuit bought at this time only as much land "as he could set a house on and a plantation included between six trees," for which he gave "a kettle and other trifles" and a promise of half of the tobacco to be grown thereon, and moreover, that he never gave the sachem any of the tobacco. But, as this statement was made to the Dutch, who were disputing the Swedes' claim, it may be only evidence of Mattahorn's amiability.

However the transaction may have been understood, or misunderstood, by the parties to it, the Swedes certainly for a long time held possession of the land they claimed, which is, after all, the essence of ownership.

When the business, whatever it amounted to, was completed on shipboard they all went ashore, planted a post with the arms of Sweden on it and fired a salute. Minquas Kill was formally named Elbe, which name was, on second thought, changed to Christina Kill.

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Further explorations were undertaken. The sloop went up the Delaware to the Schuylkill to spy out the Dutch settlements, if any there should be, and to establish trading relations with the Minquas Indians. The most travelled trail to the Minquas country, whence came the most of the furs, lay along the south bank of the Schuylkill. At its mouth was the general market place. Fort Nassau, across the Delaware, was the nearest Dutch trading post. It had been abandoned some time before, but since rebuilt and was now garrisoned by the Dutch.

The sloop passed it without being observed, but on its return was discovered. On a second trip the sloop was halted by the Dutch demanding its passport. Minuit declined to show his papers, claiming, merely, as much right there as anybody else. But the Dutch disputed his passage, and he went that way no more.

At the Rocks where they had landed they chose a site for a fort. It was then the tip of a narrow ridge of fast land, extending to the Minquas Kill and flanked on both sides by wide marshes which were under water at full tide. Thus it was a suitable site for a defensive fortification with the Rocks

as a natural wharf, accessible from an anchored ship by means of a movable "bridge" or gangplank. The fort was built of palisades and earth in the form of a square, with acute-angled bastions projecting diagonally at the four corners, in three of which cannon were placed. Within the square were two log houses for the garrison and its supplies. Its position gave it no value for control of the great River.

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Meanwhile the *Vogel Grip* had been sent to Jamestown in Virginia to trade for tobacco, and now the English first heard of the Swedish pretensions to a place on the Delaware. Their response was prompt. Governor Berkeley refused them permission to trade. Were they not lawless intruders in the territory of his majesty, the King of England, who certainly owned all America or, at the very least, from Cape Fear to the Bay of Fundy and west to the Pacific? They came back without the tobacco.

Nor was this the only notice to quit that was served on them. Dutch Governor Kieft in New Amsterdam heard of them from his men at Fort Nassau. Straightway came from him a letter by the hand of Jan Jansen van Ilpendam, commissary at Fort Nassau, "Willem Kieft, Director-General . . . make known to you, Peter Minuit, who style yourself commander . . . that the whole South River of New Netherland has been many years in our possession, and secured by us above and below with forts and sealed with our blood,"—to wit, the blood of the martyrs of Zwaanendael—and so on. "Therefore, in case you proceed with the erection of fortifications and cultivation of the soil and trade in peltries or in any wise attempt to do us injury, we do hereby protest against all damages, expenses and losses, together with all mishaps, bloodsheds and dis-

turbances, which may arise in future time therefrom and that we shall maintain our jurisdiction in such manner as we shall deem most expedient." Having relieved himself by this fulmination and washed his hands of prospective bloodshed, Kieft proceeded to maintain his jurisdiction by doing what he deemed most expedient, which was just exactly nothing at all. Minuit went on building Fort Christina and trading for peltries.

The prospect of trade drew a few Indians to the fort, but the traffic was light. The principal market was always above, at the Schuylkill. The Swedes cleared some ground and planted it with barley, maize and wheat. They laid up a store of fish and venison, turkeys and geese for the winter, and in June Minuit sailed for Holland in the *Kalmar Nyckel.* That was the last of Peter Minuit so far as New Sweden was concerned. His ship having put in at St. Kitts to trade for tobacco, he was invited aboard a Dutch sloop lying there. A sudden storm drove the sloop out of the harbor and it was never seen again. The *Kalmar Nyckel* returned to Sweden without Minuit.

The *Vogel Grip* had left Fort Christina before its companion vessel, to do a bit of independent piracy on any Spanish ship it might run across. It came back without any loot except one lonely negro slave, whom it had trepanned in some inglorious fashion. In April 1639 it left New Sweden, carrying such peltries as had been gathered together, about fifteen hundred in all. The *Kalmar Nyckel* had taken about seven hundred. The expedition had cost forty-six thousand florins, the skins sold for about sixteen thousand. The tobacco added something to the returns, but the voyage showed a heavy loss. Still, it was but a beginning. The fort was there to show for part of the money, and there was hope for the future.

CHAPTER XIII

OF DIFFICULTIES AND DISCOURAGEMENTS

HE little colony left behind at Fort Christina now numbered one commander, Mans Kling, one commissary, Hendrick Huygen, twenty-three soldiers, part Dutch, part Swedish, and one slave, all black. They looked for a new ship all through the year 1639, but none came, all through the next winter, but none came. There was little to do, that is to say, there was much to do, but nobody to do it. The "colonists" were all soldiers and the business of a soldier is to fight, not to subdue a wilderness. There was no fighting, nobody attacked them. The Indians were peaceable. They heard no more from Dutch or English. The fort fell into decay, but soldiers are not carpenters nor builders. So there was, after all, really nothing to do, and they did it. It was a dull season for the soldiery at Fort Christina. It began to look like a very good place to move away from.

But back home in Sweden there was more activity. Klas Fleming had abated none of his interest and enthusiasm. Almost as soon as the first expedition left, he was preparing a second. This first "colony," as he well knew, was no colony at all. It was a mere trading post. This time he wanted real

colonists, settlers, farmers and mechanics, with families, to go with the purpose of remaining, of building up a real New Sweden overseas, and there should be many of them, several shiploads. But there were difficulties.

In the first place, though the Swedish stockholders would pay their half of the expense, the Dutch contingent would not pay theirs. They were dissatisfied with the results in cash, and not so much excited by the prospective glory of establishing a New Sweden.

Then a new manager for the colonial affairs had to be found, now that Minuit was dead. Then those colonists—where were they to come from? Fleming canvassed Sweden here and there. Nobody wanted to go, which single fact shows how artificial this Swedish colonial movement actually was. It was not rooted in any popular need or desire.

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But Fleming was indomitable. He cut his coat to suit his cloth, reducing the expedition to one ship, old *Kalmar Nyckel.* He appointed Peter Hollandaer, a Dutchman, governor of the colony, engaged Captain Cornelis van Vliet to command the ship and signed up a Dutch mate and a Dutch crew. Then he went after his colonists. Deserters from the army, misdemeanants of various kinds, were to be "captured," given a suit of clothes and ten dalers in copper money and shipped over for a year or two of penance. Some were caught, no one now knows how many, and in September 1639, the *Kalmar Nyckel* sailed, with her cargo of involuntary emigrants. Gregorius van Dyck, a Dutchman, who was to become rather a personage in the colony, was on board. Joost van Langdonk went as commissary and Rev. Reorus Torkillus as chaplain. There were also a few Swedish soldiers, four mares and two young horses.

Torkillus was a Swede. Little is known of him, except that he was the first preacher in New Sweden. He died after four years in the colony.

Thus the second Swedish expedition started, Swedish only in the reluctant emigrants, a few soldiers and the Chaplain, otherwise Dutch throughout. It had bad luck from the start. Old *Kalmar Nyckel* leaked. They turned back and patched her up. She leaked again, again they repaired her. She still leaked. They put in at the Texel and tightened her up once more. Then Captain van Vliet proved a bad one. They discharged him and installed Captain Pouwel Jansen, another Dutchman. They were held up by storms. Not until February 1640, after five months of wasteful delay, did they get away on their journey.

There were troubles all the way over. Skipper Jansen and Commissary van Langdonk spent all their time with pipe and bottle, rowing with everybody. Devout Calvinists, they hated Rev. Reorus, a Lutheran, with a holy hate and treated him accordingly. The discipline was lax, everyone got drunk as often as he pleased, which was quite often. The sea was rough, everyone got seasick oftener than he pleased, which was almost all the time. On the whole, it was not a happy ship that dropped anchor at Fort Christina on the seventeenth of April 1640.

CHAPTER XIV

OF WELCOME DUTCHMEN AND UNWELCOME ENGLISHMEN

KIEFT at Manhattan wrote to his directors on May first 1640 that "The Swedes on the Delaware were resolved to break up and to come here, but the day before their intended departure, there arrived a vessel, by which they were strengthened." This may or may not have been the truth. Such stories were not uncommon in the early days of colonization in America. Relief ships had a habit of arriving dramatically the very day before intended departures.

One may be quite sure, however, that Kieft had done all he could to promote discontent, to create despondency. The presence of the Swedes in New Netherland was more than annoying to the Dutch, it was injurious, it hurt their fur trade. Kieft said the trade was "entirely ruined." More than that, it threatened the loss of the whole Delaware territory. Kieft's forces were not strong enough to expel the intruders, nor would the Dutch Company have allowed resort to force, for fear of embroiling Holland with Sweden, that amazing young gamecock, whose hackles were so swift to rise and whose spurs

so sharp to strike. The best Kieft could do was to sow dissension and breed discouragement by indirect means.

Hollandaer reported that he found the settlement well preserved, by which he probably meant that its members were almost all alive and had some sort of roof over their heads. It certainly was not self-sustaining. Its feeble attempts at agriculture had not yielded it sustenance. English and Dutch traders had supplied its necessities at high prices. The soldiers killed game, caught fish, but also bought such food largely from the Indians. There was immediate need of provisions for a year, more horses—they had only three—oxen, cows, seed grain, brandy, all sorts of supplies. But most of all there was need of artisans. The new governor complained that he had not a man who could build a common peasant's house or even saw a board. As to the men he had, he wrote that "it would be impossible to find more stupid people in all Sweden."

Hollandaer was probably very low in his mind when he wrote this, for his men did contrive to repair the fort, move the two houses to the east side and build three new ones, also a storehouse and a barn.

Trade with the Indians had been carried on by Huygen, and with the arrival of new goods it was further stimulated. The *Kalmar Nyckel* sailed for home in May with a good cargo of furs. Kling and Huygen went back with her, leaving Hollandaer in command and van Langdonk as commissary.

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Few landowners ever look over their boundary fences without coveting their neighbors' land. The Swedes, with more land than they could hope to use in a generation, wanted the country north of the Schuylkill.

Hollandaer set out up the River in the sloop. Jan Jansen

van Ilpendam in command of Fort Nassau saw him coming and invited him to stop. Three cannon shots and a musket ball conveyed the invitation. Hollandaer impolitely ignored it. He met the Indian sachems, who assumed authority to sell, and he bought the west bank from the Schuylkill to Sankikan, the falls above Trenton, with the usual undetermined western boundary. Later he acquired the land from Boomptiens Udde to Cape Henlopen from the sachem Wickusi, thus completing the unbroken stretch from Henlopen to Sankikan.

The internal affairs of the colony, however, were not prospering. Hollandaer was not a good disciplinarian. Quarrels among the colonists were frequent. Trade fell off, provisions were scanty, van Langdonk was not a success as a commissary. He did not like the Swedes, and was on bad terms with the governor. There was ill feeling all around. But in November there was a diversion that relieved the tension.

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Some Dutch farmers of the province of Utrecht had been ill with that perennial malady, Agricultural Depression. Prices of farm products were low, taxes high. They looked longingly toward the New World where land was free and the tax-gatherer easy to escape. This New Sweden seemed to offer what they wanted. They applied for permission to go there, but the council of the Company doubted. These were Dutchmen. Sweden might lose its grip on the colony if too many of them went over. There were complicated negotiations lasting for nearly a year, but finally the council's doubts were overcome. A charter was granted to Hendrik Hooghkamer and his associates.

It permitted them to settle on the west side of the Delaware

about twenty miles above Fort Christina, giving them in fee simple as much land on both sides of the River as was "necessary for their purposes," no boundaries being fixed, on condition of their putting it "under actual cultivation in ten years." They were given the right to exercise "high and low justice," to appoint their own magistrates and other officers, to practise "the pretended reformed religion," that is the Lutheran. They were required to support preachers and schoolmasters and to choose, as such, persons who had "at heart the conversion of the pagan inhabitants to Christianity." They also had liberty to establish manufactures and carry on trade and fisheries. In short, it was to be a self-contained self-governing little state, but it must acknowledge the sovereignty of the Swedish crown, though its people were exempt from military service except in its own defense. As an acknowledgment of Swedish authority, it must pay three florins for each family annually.

Difficulties, however, were interposed by the Dutch government, jealous of Sweden. When these were overcome, the Dutch West India Company objected. It no longer quarrelled with the Swedes over Fort Christina, but wanted no further trespassing on its South River territory. Arrangements had to be made rather furtively so that the Dutch company would be unaware of the expedition's going until after the colony was actually planted. The ship *Freedenburgh* sailed in July with Joost van den Bogaert in command.

They arrived in November and settled in a place now impossible to identify, for, although they built houses and settled themselves in their new home, within two years the colony had disappeared. No trace of van den Bogaert or any of his

people appears in the records after 1642. It is probable that they drifted northward to their compatriots in Manhattan.

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There were other matters to interest, even to excite, the people of Fort Christina in 1641. Those intruding English of the New Haven colony were again encroaching. The usual protests by Hollandaer were, as usual, ignored. Then came more serious news. Trade with the Indians had been slack in New Haven. Some of the settlers there, "being Londoners chiefly, unskilled in husbandry and unable to bear labour," wanted to "settle themselves elsewhere more commodious for their subsistence." A Delaware Company had been formed in New Haven to colonize on the River. Nathaniel Turner and George Lamberton came down in a sloop in April and bought from the sachems Usquata and Wehenset two large tracts of land "on both sides of the Delaware." On the eastern side their purchase ran from Narraticons Kill—Raccoon Creek—to Cape May. On the western side they ran from "a riverlet" called Tomquncke to another river called Papuq. No one now knows these streams. The Swedes already had an Indian title to the west side. Now Hollandaer tried to get title to the east side.

He found his old friend Wickusi quite willing to imprint his totem on a deed for the eastern land, and three days before the English got their deed from Usquata, so Hollandaer says, he got his from Wickusi. What difference this priority in time could make does not satisfactorily appear. If Usquata was the "owner," his deed was good, despite any deed of Wickusi three days or three years before, and if Wickusi was the true and lawful proprietor, Usquata's deed was worthless, whenever

dated. However, Hollandaer seems to have derived a good deal of satisfaction from his claim of antecedence.

Of course there were protests. The air was always full of protests in this scramble for possession by the Dutch, Swedes and English. It was a slack month when nobody was protesting and in due form washing his hands of whatever blood of the other fellows might thereafter be, but never was, shed. There was also a deal of planting posts with national arms on them, and of uprooting posts planted by the other crowd. But the pertinacious English went right ahead, building their blockhouse at Varckens Kill—Salem Creek—and establishing their colony of twenty families, sixty people. Not content with that they hunted up sachem Mattahorn and bought more land from him, part of the same land he had sold Minuit. This purchase ran from Chester Creek or Crum Creek to the present site of Philadelphia and included that most valuable trading place, the mouth of the Schuylkill. With truly brazen effrontery they then sent the regular "protest" to the Swedes and warned them off this indubitably Swedish territory. Quite as indubitably this was also the lawful property of the Dutch, and the government of Manhattan quickly took notice of the aggression. A resolution to expel the intruders was adopted in May 1642, and Jan Jansen van Ilpendam was instructed to take action. He acted immediately.

With two sloops full of armed men Jan Jansen went to the Schuylkill. He found a blockhouse and some dwellings occupied by Englishmen. He burnt the buildings, gave the Englishmen two hours to pack up, took them prisoners and shipped them to Manhattan.

At Varckens Kill, however, there was no violence. The Dutch seemed uninterested, their trade was mostly at the Schuylkill,

and the Swedes did nothing. More colonists came from New Haven. The settlement prospered and was undisturbed until the coming of Printz, the next Swedish governor.

To the company at home, too, things were happening. The Dutch stockholders were anxious to withdraw. Their double allegiance to the two companies, Dutch and Swedish, was embarrassing. The emission of the Utrecht colony, contrary to the wishes of the Dutch corporation, undoubtedly made bad feeling. Their shares were taken over, and the project was now all Swedish. Fresh efforts were made to secure colonists, and this resulted in the introduction of a new element into New Sweden.

CHAPTER XV

OF THE FOREST-DESTROYING FINNS

ALTHOUGH Finland had been part of the kingdom of Sweden, since the twelfth century, and Swedish civilization, its religion and, to a great extent, its language had supplanted the Finnish, the two peoples differed widely in racial origin and in character. The Swedes and Norwegians were of identical stock, dwellers in the Scandinavian peninsula at least since the Neolithic Age. The Finns were a branch of the Finno-Ugrians, a division of the Ural-Altaic family which dwelt in the Ural Mountains. The Magyars of Hungary, many of the Russian racial division, the Lapps, the Esthonians and the Livonians were of the same stock. The Finns came to Finland about the end of the eighth century. The Finno-Ugrians in their original state were nomads, but dwelt in the forests rather than on the plains. They were unwarlike and had little aptitude for political organization. The Finns of Finland displayed these ancestral traits.

In person they were of low stature, strong and hardy, with round heads, low foreheads, rather flat features and oblique grey eyes. They were generally morally upright, faithful and submissive, but stolid and indolent, though possessed of a

keen sense of personal independence. In general, there was to be seen a resemblance to the Mongolian race.

By common repute the Finns were warlocks of distinguished eminence. Magic was native to them, wizardry was their birthright, sorcery their peculiar province. Only the Lapps, their blood-brothers, excelled them in the black arts. A competent Finnish practitioner could always raise the wind. He tied three knots in a string. When he untied one, a strong breeze blew. When he untied the second, there was a gale. If he dared unloose the third, trees crashed before the tempest and roofs sailed through the air. They had, of course, many parlor tricks not so devastating, charms and incantations to cure disease, for example, or to make the cattle prosper, or to prevent rain in harvest time. There were necromancers among those who came to Delaware. "Lasse, the Finn" was condemned by Printz to imprisonment for his wizardry, "Karin, the Finnish woman" also for a similar offense. Her arts were potent enough to deliver her from the lockup at Fort Elfsborg, but the bars and bolts of Fort Christina were proof against her powers. All in all, the Finns were an interesting element in Delaware's early population.

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Their nomadic tendency had carried many of them over into Sweden. There they cleared the land and planted it, but their methods of deforesting the ground by burning the trees in a rather extravagant and promiscuous fashion met with objection by the government. They were great hunters and in this, too, they were unnecessarily wasteful, killing large numbers of elk for their skins only. They disregarded the laws passed to curb their destructive tendencies, and, as they lived

in the wilder parts of Sweden and had no settled homes, they were hard to catch.

As material for export to the new colony these Swedish Finns seemed thoroughly well qualified. Certainly they ought to be attracted by a new land where there were an unlimited supply of wild animals, no game laws, and forests to burn. Word went out to offer them these and all other inducements to emigrate, and, if enough would not go voluntarily, to "capture the forest-destroyers" and ship them west.

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As a result, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Charitas* sailed from Gothenburg in July 1641 with at least thirty-five colonists including a number of Finns, a millwright and a tailor and their families, two young adventurers of gentle birth and a preacher, Herr Christoffer. Måns Kling with his wife and child was also of the party. Horses, goats, sheep, cattle and farming implements were in the cargoes, besides a great store of provisions, supplies and goods for trade. It began to look like a serious attempt at permanent colonization.

The ships reached Fort Christina in October. The new arrivals and the abundant supplies cheered the rather discontented little settlement. Its storehouse was almost empty, the major items of its contents being a few hundred bushels of corn, six hundred axes and four thousand fishhooks—a ha'penny worth of bread to an intolerable deal of fishhooks, one might think.

Now things began to look up. New houses were built outside the fort, more ground was cleared. In the following spring the millwright contrived a windmill to grind the grain. Rev. Reorus Torkillus, Lutheran, and Herr Christoffer, Calvinist, divided the spiritual care of the settlers amicably, and theo-

logical concord was prevalent, especially after that ardent follower of John Calvin and quite worthless person, van Langdonk, left for Sweden on the return trip. All in all, though the ships returned empty because there had been no trade for furs, the little colony at Fort Christina was not in such bad shape in the fall and winter of 1641–2.

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In Sweden, too, matters were going forward. The company was all in Swedish hands, which ensured greater unity of purpose, but funds were lacking. Fleming, still striving toward success, suggested combination with the old South-Ship Company, which had a substantial capital. Also he proposed a participation by the royal government. A plan of reorganization was worked out in 1642 on the basis of a capital of thirty-six thousand dalers, one half taken by the South-Ship Company, one-sixth by the crown, the balance by the Oxenstierna family, Fleming and Spiring. After this time the company was almost a branch of the government. The ships were provisioned, the crews, soldiers and certain officers paid by the crown. But it still functioned as a private corporation, with Fleming at its head.

All this might seem to have put the company in good condition, but in fact its funds were still insufficient. Its management was never really effective. After Fleming was killed, two years later in the war with Denmark, Axel Oxenstierna became its *de facto* head, and its affairs fell into confusion. Oxenstierna was too busy with the Danish war and the long negotiations for peace to give it the necessary attention. This ineptitude of its officers contributed to the final catastrophe, which was, however, yet some years in the future. For the present it was still in workable condition. Indeed it was about to enter on

the liveliest years of its career, beginning with the fifth expedition.

There was great activity in fitting out this new excursion. Two ships, the *Fama* and the *Swan*, were provided and freighted with supplies for the colony. Horses, cattle and sheep, grain, clothing, guns, wine, malt for their brewing, and writing-paper and sealing-wax for their letters home were in the cargo, but no goods for trade with the Indians. The character of these shipments indicates an intention to sustain and build up the colony without primary reliance on the fur trade, and, to that end, the usual rather frantic search for emigrants ensued.

Gregorius van Dyck agreed to go out again. Christer Boije was engaged as a military officer. A blacksmith was hired and a new minister, Rev. Johan Campanius Holm, who remained in New Sweden for five years. But, as always, volunteer voyagers were lacking. Recourse was had to compulsion. More Finns were rounded up, convicted poachers, deserters from the army, insolvent debtors, were condemned to deportation. Two married men, "who had committed adultery three times and one of them had, in addition, shot some elks," were added to the party, also a new governor to succeed Hollandaer. On the first of November the ships sailed.

CHAPTER XVI

OF PRINTZ, THE BIG SWEDE

ON THE morning of the fifteenth of February 1643 two ships sailed up the Delaware River, swung to the west and into the mouth of the Christina. Their rigging was broken, their sails split and one of them had lost its mainmast, a rather sorry looking pair after more than three months of the wintry Atlantic and then a final encounter with a great storm in the bay. Battered and bruised as they were, they were beautiful in the eyes of the little band which held the fort toward which they steered, for they were the *Fama* and the *Swan*, ships of good hope, bearing the fifth expedition from the homeland. But, whatever may have been the anticipations of that little band, they could not have been equal to the reality about to be disclosed.

While one of the ships was being slowly warped close to the Rocks and the gangplank was being run out to bridge the intervening distance, the bulwarks of both were lined with the figures of men, women and children gazing wide-eyed at their new home, an indiscriminate gallery of wondering faces. On the shore Governor Peter Hollandaer, Lieutenant Måns Nilsson

Kling, and the two spiritual heads of the colony, Rev. Reorus Torkillus and Herr Christoffer, backed by a handful of private soldiers and plain people, pressed forward to welcome the travellers. It seemed that a quite informal disembarkation was about to be made. But no, it had been planned quite otherwise.

A trumpet rang out in glorious flourish, the long roll of a drum broke forth. The crowd at the head of the gangplank separated, fell back on both sides and in the gap, plain to the view of all, for such cannot be hid, appeared a—what? A man? It was impossible—impossible, but true. A mountain, a mountain of a man, enormous, colossal, stupendous, vast beyond description or belief, trod the gangplank, that sagged and groaned beneath him. He weighed four hundred pounds—take de Vries's word for it, "a man of brave size, who weighed over four hundred pounds," says de Vries. He had an eye as cold as an icicle, a nose that seemed to have been pounded into distorted prominence and a jaw that jutted like the prow of a ship, a man to be marked among ten thousand. New Sweden's new governor had arrived, for this was Lieutenant Colonel Johan Printz, late of the West Gotha cavalry.

One pauses to reflect parenthetically that it was a great day for the horses of the West Gotha cavalry when Lieutenant Colonel Printz left that branch of the service. Bucephalus could hardly have borne him gladly.

The new governor had come. Hollandaer's rather colorless règime was at an end. The lethargy, in which from the beginning the colony had been submerged, was about to be dispelled. Under the driving impulse of this ramping roaring blustering Gargantua, New Sweden was to know ten years

of expansive activity, to be truly master of the River and its shores, to enjoy a great decade before its total eclipse.

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Printz took over the government at once. Before the assembled population the ceremony of his inauguration was performed, and to it his instructions from the home office were read. His duties under these orders were comprehensive and varied.

He was to preserve a friendly demeanor toward the Dutch at Fort Nassau and not to disturb them at Fort Amsterdam, but to maintain the Swedish claim to the west shore from Henlopen to Sankikan and to the east shore from Narraticon to Cape May, including the English settlement at Varcken's Kill, repelling all invaders; to treat the natives fairly and protect them from violence or injustice; to instruct them in the Christian religion and, in trade with them, to undersell the Dutch and English. So much for generalities.

Then there were his particular duties; to grow tobacco; to propagate cattle and sheep; to cultivate grapes; to manufacture salt; to explore for mines; to cut timber for export; to establish fisheries; to raise silkworms.

Incidentally, he was to govern the colony, administer justice according to the laws of Sweden, and punish offenders; to render to Almighty God the glory, praise and homage due him, "according to the true confession of Augsburg, the Council of Upsal and the ceremonies of the Swedish church"; to instruct all men in the Christian religion, including, of course, the Golden Rule, and to monopolize absolutely and completely the fur trade on the whole River and Bay. On Saturday afternoons he might, perhaps, go a-fishing.

To assist him in overseeing the performance of these few

light duties, he had a retinue composed of a commissary, a secretary, four lieutenants, two chaplains, a barber-surgeon, a head-guard, two gunners, a gunsmith, a trumpeter, a drummer, twenty-four soldiers and an executioner—forty functionaries and watchmen. To do the real work there were fifty-odd more or less able-bodied men.

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Installed in office, Printz's energies were first exercised in a perambulation of his domain, from Henlopen to Sankikan. Then, after assigning land to the new colonists for clearing and house-building, he began his major activities. At Varcken's Kill he built Fort Elfsborg to serve the triple purpose of holding the east bank, guarding the river approach and overawing the English settlement there. It was placed on a point south of the present Mill Creek. It was laid out "on the English plan," an earthwork "with three angles," and in it were installed eight twelve-pounders of iron and brass and a mortar. A gunner, a drummer, a chaplain and thirteen soldiers, with Lieut. Sven Skute in command and Gregorius van Dyck as *wachtmeister* or chief guard, garrisoned it in 1644.

That fortification was hardly under way before another was begun at Tinicum Island, just below the present site of Philadelphia. This was Fort New Gothenburg. It became the seat of government, Printz establishing his own residence there. The secretary, two gunners and eight soldiers held it under Printz's command. The fort was built of great hemlock logs laid horizontally, and armed with four small copper cannon. Here also the governor erected his mansion, Printzhof. It was built of hewn logs, two stories high, with interior fittings of sawn lumber, brick fireplaces and chimneys, and had glass

windows, the finest house in America between Virginia and Manhattan Island.

At Upland, on the present site of Chester, a blockhouse was erected, at Schuylkill another. Fort Christina was repaired and made the principal storehouse. Lieut. Johan Papegoja was placed in command, with Hendrick Huygen as commissary. Here also dwelt the barber-surgeon, the trumpeter, the blacksmith and the executioner.

CHAPTER XVII

OF PRINTZ AS EMPIRE BUILDER

WHILE this orgy of building was going on, Printz was busy with the other duties imposed by his instructions. The fur trade was still the colony's main reliance, but agriculture must also be pushed. The free colonists were urged to clear and plant their allotments and the hired servants, tilling the company's plantations, were driven at their tasks. Axes rang in the woodland, plows turned their furrows, corn and tobacco were seeded. Indians were enticed to Christina and the Schuylkill by offers of better trade than the rival dealers would make. There was trading with the Dutch and English, too. Cloth, guns, knives and other articles in variety were bought from them for the colony, and tobacco for return cargoes in the *Swan* and the *Fama*. Huygen went to New Amsterdam to buy goods.

The two ships sailed for Sweden in April. Hollandaer went with them, so did Johan Papegoja, to supplement verbally Printz's written report.

In the intervals of business Printz reorganized the colony's government. He had full judicial and administrative powers. His judicial functions were to be exercised in connection with

assistants chosen by him "from among the principal and wisest inhabitants of the colony," but he determined the punishment, "fines, imprisonment or death." In fact, hampered only by the necessity of employing assistant judges, who were both judges and jury and whom he could select at will, Printz was an absolute monarch in New Sweden, exercising the high, the low and the middle justice, with powers of life and death in his hands. No other colonial governor on the Atlantic seaboard of America was vested with such tyrannical authority.

There were a few Dutch at Fort Nassau, but they gave him no trouble. There were a few Englishmen at Varcken's Kill, but Printz had lined them up and given them the choice of swearing allegiance to the Swedish crown or evacuating. Those that chose to remain now lay quiet under the guns of Fort Elfsborg. From Henlopen and May to Sankikan, Printz was master of the country. All was well with New Sweden.

The folks at home were well pleased, too. Brahe, Governor of Finland, wrote Printz expressing a hope that he will "gain a firm foothold there and be able to lay so good a foundation *in tam vasta terra septentrionali* that, with God's gracious favor, the whole North American continent may in time be brought to a knowledge of his Son and become subject to the crown of Sweden." Altogether the position of Printz's little kingdom in the fall of 1643 was not unsatisfactory. He had not had time to instruct the natives in the Christian religion, nor to cultivate silkworms, but he had excluded the Dutch and English from his territory.

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To the Dutch, especially, exclusion from the River was a heavy blow. Adriaen van der Donck, a leading member of

Stuyvesant's board of councillors, writing some years later, told a sad tale of Printz's offenses.

First, he rhapsodizes about the country. "This bay and river," he writes, "are compared by its admirers with the river Amazon, that is by such as have seen both; it is by everyone considered one of the most beautiful, and the best and pleasantest rivers in the world of itself and as regards its surroundings. Fourteen streams empty into this river, the least of them navigable for two or three leagues; and on both sides are tolerably level lands of great extent."

Then he catalogues Printz's trespasses, that he had built at Varcken's Kill a fort "called Elsenborch and manifests there great boldness towards everyone, even as respects the [Dutch] Company's boats or all which go up the South River. They must strike the flag before this fort, none excepted; and two men are sent on board to ascertain from whence the yachts or ships come. It is not much better than exercising the right of search. It will, to all appearance, come to this in the end. What authority these people can have to do this we know not; nor can we comprehend how officers of other potentates (at least as they say they are, yet what commission they have we do not yet know) can make themselves master of, and assume authority over, land and goods belonging to and possessed by other people and sealed with their blood, even without considering the charter." And so he goes on. The Schuylkill was "heretofore possessed by the Netherlanders, but how is it now? The Swedes have it almost entirely under their dominion." At Sankikan "the arms of their High Mightinesses were erected by orders of Director Kieft, as a symbol that the river, with all the country and the lands around there, were held and owned under their High Mightinesses. But what

fruits has it produced as yet, other than continued derision and derogation of dignity? The Swedes, with intolerable insolence, have thrown down the arms, and, since they are suffered to remain so, this is looked upon by them, and particularly by their governor, as a Roman achievement. True, we have made several protests, as well against this as other transactions, but they have had as much effect as the flying of a crow overhead."

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Printz might, indeed, look with pride on his work, but there were a few flies in the ointment. Crops were not good, for one thing. He complains that he got from "the work of nine men hardly one man's yearly nourishment." There was a shortage of animals. He had to buy oxen at New Amsterdam. Trade in furs was bad, yet many consumable supplies had to be bought. The supply of food was insufficient and there was much illness among the colonists. Twenty men out of a scant hundred died that fall, among them the Rev. Reorus Torkillus. As ten of them were hired men and five of them working freemen, the productive force was diminished one-third and there was a severe shortage of labor. Territory had been dominated, forts erected, but the colony as a living organism was greatly weakened. The year closed rather gloomily.

Nor did 1644 open with much promise. Trade was at a standstill for lack of goods. The English and Dutch pressed their advantage and well nigh monopolized the fur market. But in March they were cheered by the arrival of the *Fama.*

There were a few new immigrants on the *Fama*, the usual contingent of Finns, timber thieves and game poachers, two more unfaithful husbands and a military convict among them. But, as the death roll had grown to twenty-six and four went

home with the *Fama*, the net result was a population of ninety-eight adult men and a few women and children in all New Sweden. The colony was hardly holding its own in numbers, nor would one suppose that its moral tone was being perceptibly elevated.

They were better off in material things, however, after the *Fama's* arrival. She brought a considerable cargo, saws for a sawmill, grindstones, millstones, tools, two hundred barrels of flour, twenty barrels of salt, clothing, shoes, ten hogsheads of French wine, one hogshead of brandy, cloth for flags and ten gilded flag-pole knobs. Those forts had to present a cheerful appearance, even though the mouths of the settlers were down at the corners. Also two hundred and fifty copper kettles and six thousand bricks, items to cause wonderment.

The kettles one may understand were for the Indian trade, but that a colony now six years old, in a land where clay was to be had for the digging and bricks for the burning, should have to freight six thousand bricks across three thousand miles of ocean—that seems to need justification.

A lively trade ensued, for furs with the Indians, for tobacco with the Varcken's Kill Englishmen and other planters, and a good return cargo was loaded in the *Fama*.

Printz's experience with agriculture had taught him the economic fallacy of raising poor crops of corn, which could be bought cheaply from the Indians, and buying tobacco at a high price from the English, which could be raised cheaply by his own men. All agricultural effort was now concentrated on tobacco. At Upland, at Christina and at the Schuylkill thirty men were thus employed. Printz also gave attention to improving the cattle industry. The hogs and cattle, which had run wild, were herded, the sheep fenced in. Manufactures were

fostered in cooper-shops and blacksmiths' forges, two boats were built at Christina, the mill was busy grinding corn. Although he had not yet got around to proselyting the Indians and the silkworms were still neglected, the energy of this man-mountain had been effectively utilized. So he functioned in the material affairs of the colony, building, fortifying, trading, farming, manufacturing.

CHAPTER XVIII

OF PRINTZ AS JURIST

CONSIDER Printz now as the embodiment of the colony's legislative, judicial and executive powers, declaring, interpreting, enforcing the Swedish common law and "the law of God and Moses."

There were simple cases, the arrest of the mutinous crew, which had marooned the Earl of New Albion and stolen his ship, and their remand to Virginia, the extradition from New Amsterdam of Swedish deserters, the trial and punishment of the two Finns charged with witchcraft. In these his genius in legal procedure was hardly tested. But a case was brought before him in this first year in the conduct of which he displayed a perhaps unexpected ability to deal with really complicated judicial problems.

That persistent Englishman, Lamberton of New Haven, who had intruded at Varcken's Kill and at Schuylkill, turned up again on the river in the summer of 1643, anchored his impudent ship, well named *The Cock*, about three miles above Christina and started trading with the Indians. This was an offense in itself, but on top of it came information that Lamberton was bribing the savages to kill all the Swedes and Dutch

and burn their buildings. Chief Inspector Printz of New Sweden's Scotland Yard took charge of the case with alacrity.

He wrote a letter to Lamberton about an imaginary gold watch stolen by a mythical Indian, and asked aid for its recovery. His two informants, Timon Stidden and Gottfried Harmer, were sent with this to *The Cock*. The two sleuths, having thus insinuated themselves into the ship, remained overnight to spy on the conspirators. They came back with no evidence of guilt, so Printz arrested Lamberton and his crew and held them in jail three days, while he put John Woollen, the English interpreter, through the third degree. One John Thickpenny, of the English, told the tale later under oath in New Haven.

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The first assault on Woollen was the administering to him of wine and strong beer. After he "had largely drunk," the second torture was "more strong beer and wine," in which the crafty Printz joined, drinking freely, "entertaining of him with much respect seemingly and with profession of great love for him, making many large promises to do very much good for him, if he would but say that George Lamberton had hired the Indians to cut off the Swedes." Woollen would not. But Printz was not yet at the end of his resources.

More strong wine and beer was brought in, Printz drank to his victim again, said he would make a man of him, give him a plantation, a house, much gold and silver. He finally protested that he loved this dear Woollen as his own child—wouldn't he please confess? The ungrateful man persisted in his denial. What wonder then that Printz, his generosity scorned, his love rejected, burst forth in a mighty rage, "stamped with his feet" and with his own hands gyved the culprit.

Back to prison, then, went Woollen, where for three days he was constantly plied with strong beer in flagons, with sack in flagons, threatened, cajoled, but no incriminating admission was to be had from him. Whereupon Printz released the prisoners, but made Lamberton promise to return in July for trial.

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On the tenth of July a court extraordinary was convened, and the first legal trial on the Delaware of which there is any record was held at Fort Christina. Christer Boije sat as judge. Huygen, Kling, five other Swedes and the Dutch commissary from Fort Nassau, Jan Jansen van Ilpendam, composed the jury in the Swedish fashion, which made its members assistant judges and assistant prosecutors as well as jurymen. The governor, "noble and valiant Johan Printz," assumed the more attractively aggressive role of prosecuting attorney. George Lamberton was the prisoner at the bar, charged with conspiracy to commit a massacre.

There seem to have been three counts in the indictment, first, that the English had no good title to Varcken's Kill; second, that Lamberton traded unlawfully with the Indians; third, that he had bribed the Indians to kill all the Swedes and Dutch.

To the first count, Lamberton pleaded that he had been induced by van Ilpendam to buy Varcken's Kill. Jan Jansen promptly called him a liar. The court then called on the prosecuting attorney to testify, which Printz did, swearing the Swedes owned the disputed territory. He told in detail that some other men had told him that the Indian Wickusi had told them that he had sold the land to the Swedes. Nobody

objected to this as hearsay, so they passed on to the second count.

To this Lamberton pleaded that he did not know he was not allowed to trade on the River. Two members of the jury then took the stand and swore that he did. That ended this part of the case. They went on to the third count.

Stidden and Harmer, the two sleuths, swore they had heard an Indian say "these things." There was other testimony of a similarly conclusive character. Lamberton denied the charge and wanted Woollen, the interpreter, called for the defense. The prosecuting attorney informed the court "that he had examined Mr. Woollen enough, but that he would not confess anything," which was considered reason enough for refusing Lamberton's request.

Then the magnanimous prosecutor surprised the court by withdrawing the whole third count, since the prisoner "had fully excused himself." Whereupon the court found the prisoner guilty of the crime charged in the third count, which had just been withdrawn, but since he was a foreigner and "would not confess to the charge," the case against him was dismissed. On the two other counts, it was decided by this Swedish and Dutch court, surprisingly enough, that the English possessed "no place at, in or around this river," and that Lamberton had no right to trade there, wherefore his ship and all its cargo were forfeit, but, if he would pay duty on the beavers bought, he would be discharged.

After reading the record of this extraordinarily involved proceeding, one would not be surprised to learn that the judge had imposed the costs on the prosecuting attorney, fined the jury and sentenced himself to six months' hard labor.

And the matter did not end there. Lamberton complained

at New Haven, and quite a row was stirred up in the General Court of the United Colonies at Boston. Governor Winthrop wrote to Printz charging him with committing third degree on Woollen and oppressing Lamberton, also claiming the whole continent including Delaware Bay. Captain Turner brought this to Printz in January 1644. Printz immediately convened a new court to try himself.

This court was a small League of Nations. Printz, the prisoner at the bar, was chief justice. In the court and jury were four Swedes, the Dutch commissary van Ilpendam and two Englishmen, one being the chief prosecuting witness, Capt. Turner. Printz, the defendant and chief justice, acted also as prosecuting attorney. After several witnesses had been examined, including Woollen, who swore no inducements had been offered him to testify falsely, but on the contrary he had been urged to tell only the truth, Printz, the prosecutor, refused to press the charge further against Printz, the prisoner, and Printz, the chief justice, discharged him. So ended this remarkable case, in which, as everyone must admit, Johan Printz proved himself as ingenious, as resourceful and as versatile a jurist as any Lieutenant Colonel of the West Gotha cavalry could be expected to be.

CHAPTER XIX

OF PRINTZ AS MACHIAVELLI

NOR were Printz's talents limited to the fields of government, business, agriculture and jurisprudence. As an international diplomat he shone as brilliantly. Witness his handling of the case of the Aspinwall Expedition, which for a time threatened to involve New Sweden in conflict with New England, a catastrophe averted only by Printz's astuteness.

The origin of the affair was a passage in Morton's "New English Canaan" describing "a very spacious lake, which is far more excellent than the lake of Genezareth in the country of Palestine, both in respect of the greatness and properties thereof and likewise of the manifold commodities it yieldeth." It must have been an attractive lake indeed, for Sir Ferdinando Gorges was able to describe the land bordering on it, called Laconia, of which he had received a grant from Charles I, in terms meet to describe Paradise before the Fall, and that without ever having seen it. So it must have been a very desirable piece of real estate.

The only trouble about this new Arcadia was that no one knew where it was, nor how to get to it. Naturally a Laconia

Company was formed and an expedition sent out from England to discover and possess it. "After three years spent in labor and travel for that end or other fruitless endeavors," without finding any place so nearly resembling the Garden of Eden, they returned to England "with a *non est inventa provincia*," though Gorges insisted that they must, at least, have been within one day's journey of it at sometime in their wandering. An optimist of parts was Sir Ferdinando.

"One Darby Field, an Irishman" was sure he had seen it once, at a distance, but up to 1644 it was still *non inventa.* Enterprising Bostonians were convinced, not unreasonably, that this elysium must be somewhere up the Delaware valley, so they sent a pinnace under command of William Aspinwall to find it.

This expedition arrived in the Delaware in June. Printz then had a problem to solve. If there were any Gardens of Eden anywhere up the River, he wanted them himself. So much was certain. But if he forbade the River to these explorers, he might arouse a conflict with those Yankee Englishmen, and he did not want that, another sure thing. What was he to do?

In his solution of this problem he displayed a finesse worthy of the most capable of the *corps diplomatique.* First, he sent a secret messenger to Jan Jansen van Ilpendam, Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau, to tell him that these English were going to fortify above him and cut off all the Indian trade on the Delaware. Then he welcomed Aspinwall, who carried a letter of recommendation from Governor Winthrop, apologized for his having been halted at Fort Elfsborg, gave him a passport, "promised all favors" and sent him on up the River, with a guide to show him the way. At Fort Nassau, strangely

enough, van Ilpendam stopped the pinnace, turned it about and sent it packing back to Boston, "with the loss of its voyage." But it carried a gracious letter from Printz to Governor Winthrop, expressing high regards and giving assurances that Winthrop's letter of recommendation had secured for the expedition a hearty welcome from the Swedes and all courtesies. Winthrop laid the blame for all injuries on the Dutch.

In the fall of the same year an English bark with seven men came from Boston to trade on the Delaware. It lay over the winter at Varcken's Kill; and in the spring started buying furs. It was set upon by fifteen Indians, who killed four of the party, rifled the cargo and carried off two prisoners. Printz, through his friendship with the sachem, recovered one of the prisoners, arrested the culprits and sent them to Boston. This quite cemented the friendship between him and Winthrop, which had grown up out of his kindness in the Aspinwall affair.

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Printz was generally on good terms with the Indians. He was generous with his gifts and with promises of more. There was trouble in 1644. The success of the onslaught upon the whites by the tribes around Manhattan had made the Delaware Indians, usually peacefully inclined, rather arrogant. Printz spread the report that ships from Sweden with many men were soon to arrive. When only one ship came and brought few men, the Indians became insolent, and within a few days killed five of the Swedes. Printz gathered his little band and began warlike preparations. The alarmed Indians sued for peace. Printz, with all the assurance of a general backed by a conquering army, took a high position. He assured the chiefs that, if the least offense was committed against the Swedes, he

"would not let a soul of them live." Then he graciously made a treaty of peace with them and gave them gifts.

Printz had many amiable qualities. He was kind to his relations. There was Johan Papegoja. He married Printz's daughter, Armegot, and Printz made him commander at Fort Christina, displacing Måns Kling, who was sent to the blockhouse at the Schuylkill.

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With the Dutch, at this time, his relations were, on the whole, friendly. He had been instructed to "keep neighborly friendship" with them, and, too, they made common cause with him against the dreaded English. He knew well that all signs pointed to a conflict with New Amsterdam sooner or later, but meanwhile, though he distrusted the Dutch and watched them, he was all smiles and good will toward them. They traded freely on the River. Both parties used to protest formally every advance made by the other, but that was expected of each by the other. He and Jan Jansen van Ilpendam preserved an actual peace.

In 1645, however, friend Jan was succeeded by a new commissary at Fort Nassau, Andreas Hudde. Hudde was a new broom. The dust of his sweeping got in Printz's eyes, and the smile on his face froze into a frown. Hudde's aggressiveness began to loosen Printz's hold on the fur trade. Something had to be done about it.

In June a Dutch sloop came, and Hudde sent it to Schuylkill to trade with the Minquas. Printz ordered it away. Hudde asked him what it all meant, argued for the rights of the Dutch on the River, counselled discretion, pleaded the alliance between the High Mightinesses and the Queen Christina, protested against such obstructions. Printz told the skipper to

get out or he would confiscate ship and cargo. That was the first rift within the lute of friendship.

The next year Hudde started up the River to look for a reported gold mine. This time Printz used the same device that had worked so well in the Aspinwall case. He sent word to the up-river Indians that Hudde was going to build a great fort at Sankikan, garrison it with two hundred and fifty men and kill all the Indians on the River. This magnificent imagination served its purpose. The Indians met Hudde and turned him back. But unfortunately they told Hudde all about Printz's story. The rift within the lute widened perceptibly.

CHAPTER XX

OF PRINTZ AS A MAN OF ACTION

HE west side of the River, as it gave access to the country of the Minquas whence came the beaver pelts, was the desired territory for all traders, and so the Dutch persisted in their aggressions. Kieft ordered Hudde to buy land there, about three miles above the Schuylkill. Hudde found the Indians, as usual, perfectly willing to sell. They were quite used to selling it. They had sold it to the Swedes already, and it was no trouble at all to sell it again to the Dutch. Hudde bought the land and set up the customary post with the "Hon. Company's arms" on it. Preparations for building were under way, but Printz resisted the encroachment with a high and vigorous hand.

He sent Commissary Huygen with some soldiers to tear down the emblazoned post. Huygen tore it down and told Hudde that "even were it the flag of His Highness, the Illustrious Prince of Orange, that was there, he would have trampled it under foot," with many other "bloody menaces." Stung in his national pride, as well as personally humiliated, the harassed and exasperated Hudde sent a letter to the "Honorable, Rigorous Sir, Mr. Johan Printz" protesting "before God and the

World," in the name of "their High Mightinesses, the Noble Lords the States-General and of his Highness, the Illustrious Prince of Orange and the Honbles. the Directors" that he, the said Hudde, was "guiltless of all mischiefs, difficulties, damages and losses, which may grow out of these proceedings." He closed with a rather pathetic suggestion that "we, who are Christians, do not render ourselves an object of scoff to these Indian heathens."

An envoy with a guard of honor carried the letter to Printz Hall. "Good morning sir" said the ambassador to the honorable rigorous Governor. "I shall greet you on the part of the Commissary Hudde, who sends you this writing." With high and haughty disdain Printz threw the paper on the ground. "There, take care of that," he commanded an underling, and turned his back on the embassy to talk to some Englishmen. Boyer, the envoy, asked for an answer, whereupon the governor's smouldering wrath flamed out. He seized a gun and doubtless would have ended the matter with a massacre of the delegation, had not his men thrown the Dutchmen bodily out of the house.

To increase Hudde's discomfiture, Printz ordered the Swedes to abstain from all trade and communication with the Dutch. Hudde reported all these indignities to Governor Kieft at Manhattan, but no action was taken. In truth, except to salve Hudde's injured pride, no action by the Dutch was needed. In spite of all Printz's diplomacy, in spite of his rampings and roarings, the canny Dutchmen had the better of him. They were well supplied with goods, and, as traders, the Swedes were not in the running with them. Besides, Printz was by this time pretty well out of trade goods. Klas Fleming was dead. The affairs of the Company in Sweden were in bad

shape. The naval war with Denmark kept all the Swedish ships busy, none could be spared and so the expected ship had not arrived. Printzhof and the fort at Tinicum had burned to the ground in November 1645, and the people there had suffered great hardship. Rebuilding had strained the colony's labor resources. The outlook for New Sweden in the following year was unmistakably bad. But Printz never relaxed in his struggle to overcome all obstacles. He built a water mill on Cobb's Creek and two blockhouses to protect it, calling the place Mölndal. He kept everybody busy, while he waited for the expected rescue ship.

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At last, in August 1645, there was peace with Denmark, and the company set about getting off the seventh expedition. It was to be a real one this time. Great plans were laid. Four hundred men, half of them soldiers, half colonists, with four hundred women and two hundred children were to go out in three or four ships. They spent six months in preparations. In August one ship, the *Gyllene Haj*—Golden Shark—sailed with certainly one colonist, a soldier under punishment. Possibly there were a few others, but there is only one in the records.

It did, however, bring trade goods, thousands of yards of duffels, axes, kettles, knives, thimbles, combs, mirrors, tobacco boxes in hundreds, musical boxes, gilded chains and ten thousand fishhooks. Printz set about reviving the fur trade.

He made a new treaty with the River Indians directed against Hudde's activities. He sent Huygen and van Dyck with eight soldiers two hundred and thirty miles back into the wilderness to re-establish relations with the Minquas, to give them gifts and secure promises of an embargo on trade with

the Dutch. He built a new fort, New Korsholm, at the Schuylkill, on an island "about a gunshot" up the stream. It controlled that main line to the fur country. He bought again all the land on the west bank from Wicaco, just south of Philadelphia, to Sankikan. He did everything possible to consolidate his territory and obey the instructions given him to monopolize the fur trade.

In spite of everything, personal relations of a sort were maintained between Hudde and Printz in some curious fashion. Hudde dined at Printzhof with the governor and his wife. Of one such dinner party there is a record. Hudde argued the old question of prior right as between the Dutch and Swedes, urging that the Dutch had come first. To which Printz replied that the Devil was the oldest proprietor of Hell, but that he might have to give place to a younger one, "with other vulgar expressions to the same effect."

Although there was betterment of trade, the colony was struggling to keep alive. All agricultural effort having been concentrated on the tobacco fields, food had to be bought from the English and Dutch. The settlement had not yet become a self-sustaining enterprise and storms were brewing beyond the northern horizon.

CHAPTER XXI

OF PRINTZ AND STUYVESANT

A NEW governor had come to New Amsterdam. In place of the fussy pretentious ineffective Kieft, there was a man as energetic as Printz, as determined to maintain his country's rights and much more potent to accomplish his task. Pieter Stuyvesant's name stands out in the long list of colonial governors of the American colonies of all nations, the best known of the lot. His picturesque personality impressed itself on his contemporaries and preserved his fame to posterity. The importance of his colony from the beginning, its subsequent growth into headship of the nation in population, commerce and finance, have magnified his personality perhaps beyond its proportionate value. Though no one could rightly claim that Printz was fully his equal in native ability or in the conduct of his office, in some respects he was not Stuyvesant's inferior, and due credit must be given him for accomplishing as much as he did with a meagre population, a generally inadequate store of supplies and an altogether insufficient support from the company. As a person, an individual character, he had fully as much of the picturesqueness that catches the eye and immortalizes its possessor, but he had not the

fortune to catch the most important eye, the eye of the man who embedded Stuyvesant in the amber of his prose and preserved him for the ages to come. Washington Irving could have made Johan Printz the character that he made Pieter Stuyvesant.

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Hudde kept the new governor informed of the outrageous pretensions of the Swedes. Stuyvesant was little inclined to put up with them. As he saw it, the South River was, at the very least, as much his as it was Printz's, more in law and justice. He did not propose to have the Swedes monopolize it. But the time had not come for forcible assertion of his rights. The Swedes were not growing stronger, the Dutch could afford to choose their own time for the fight. A little tentative preliminary sparring, however, might be useful.

He gave several Dutchmen a commission to trade on the River. Printz stopped them. Stuyvesant merely protested. Then he ordered Hudde to build a fort at the Schuylkill, where the Swedes were engaged in further building operations. Hudde went there with some Indian sachems, old Mattahorn among them, renewed his claim of ownership and ordered the Swedes off. The chiefs denied having sold the land to the Swedes, hoisted the flag of the Prince of Orange, and told Hudde "to fire three shots in token of possession." Then Hudde started building his blockhouse.

Huygen appeared with seven or eight men and there was the usual grand debate about title to the land, the Indians siding with the Dutch, denying that the Swedes had ever bought any land from them, except a very little bit at Christina purchased by Minuit. There was no decision.

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A few days later, while Hudde was completing his palisade, came Lieut. Måns Kling with twenty-four soldiers, about half of Printz's standing army, armed with "loaded guns and lighted matches" and cut down all the trees around the fort, a rather half-hearted proceeding, one thinks, but doubtless a sufficiently bitter insult. Then Stuyvesant decided to go down to the South River and look into matters there. But the Indians began to threaten New Amsterdam, and the people there objected to his leaving them, so he sent, as commissioners, the two officers next himself in rank, Vice-Director Lubbertus van Dincklagen and Councillor Dr. Johannes La Montagne. Hudde was directed to receive them with all honor, "in the most dignified way," escorting their vessel with his yachts, "in proper style."

They came, saw the Indian sachems at Fort Nassau, received from them assurances that the land at Schuylkill had been sold by them to the Dutch in 1633, but had not yet been fully paid for,—ah, those Indian realtors! They satisfied the chiefs' demands and got new deeds from Mattahorn and the rest. Then they went to Printzhof, these worthy dignitaries, to put the fear of their High Mightinesses into the stubborn heart of Johan Printz.

No honors were paid them there, no dignified reception awaited them. There was even a notable absence of what one would call "proper style." Printz kept them standing outside his door in the rain for half an hour, and, when he saw them and they presented their claim to the Schuylkill land, all they got out of him was a cold assurance that he would answer them in writing later. The commissioners went back to New Amsterdam.

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The Dutch, however, with their brand-new deeds, began again to assert their authority over the land around the fort at the Schuylkill, Fort Beversreede. Hans Jacobsen started to build a house there. Young Gustaf Printz, son of Johan, tore down the work and burnt the timbers. Thomas Broen tried the same thing, with a similar result. Then Printz, tiring of defensive measures, became offensive. He built a log block-house thirty feet long and twenty feet wide exactly in front of Fort Beversreede and so close to it that, from ships on the river, Beversreede could not even be seen. One obstreperous Swede added injury to this insult by tearing down Beversreede's palisades, and, when they were replaced, he tore them down again.

A party of three or four essayed a building operation of Mastmakers Hook at the Schuylkill. Lieutenant Sven Skute arrived with a guard and demolished the house, "hacking and utterly destroying what had been begun," accompanying his violence "with words of abuse and contempt." In the argument that ensued Skute emphasized his points by seizing one Boyer by the hair, but was "prevented from coming to any further exercises."

Throughout all these bickerings there was a constant cross-fire of protests. The air was full of them. They were aimed at Honorable Rigorous Mr. Printz, at Governor Stuyvesant, at Commissary Huygen, at Commissary Hudde, at every head in sight. They hit everybody and did nobody any harm. Truly humane warfare was this campaign of paper bullets.

CHAPTER XXII

OF A HOMESICK HANDFUL

IN THE midst of it, early in 1648, the eighth expedition arrived in the *Swan*. The cargo was of the usual trade goods, axes, kettles and the like, but also included one hogshead of wine, doubtless for the governor, forty-eight barrels of "ships-beer" and four barrels of "good beer." There were class distinctions in the land of freedom even in those early days. Few colonists came. The most important being Rev. Lars Karlsson Lock, who remained for many years, and of whom more shall be heard.

The failure to receive new immigrants was now resulting in a constantly decreasing population. In 1648 Printz's census showed only seventy-nine men in the whole of New Sweden, including the one lonely negro slave, and of these but twenty-eight were freemen settled on farms or plantations. These independent settlers were well enough satisfied with their condition. They were sending down roots into the soil, and, few though they were, they showed promise of steady and continuous growth. But the others, soldiers and servants, were greatly discontented. The soldiers were on foreign duty. Most of the servants were transported convicts. None of these was

abroad of his own free will, and they all wanted to go home. Several of them did go home when the *Swan* sailed in May. New Sweden seemed to be fading from the map of North America.

Printz's original engagement as governor had been for three years. At the end of that term he had asked to be relieved. It was two years later when he received an answer commanding him to remain. The fact that this command bore the signature of the Queen herself pleased him greatly, but another year's difficulties overbalanced even this proof of royal condescension. Again he prayed for relief and again it was refused. He must stay until another governor could be found to replace him. So from top to bottom of the official organization, from Governor Printz down to the meanest bondsman, discontent and nostalgia prevailed in New Sweden.

There were external troubles, too. The Dutch complained that the Swedes had ruined their trade in furs on the South River by paying higher prices. They retaliated by exacting penalties from the English, who traded with the Swedes in miscellaneous merchandise, and by preventing their own people from supplying the wants of the Swedes. In one respect, however, the Dutch gave much needed help.

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Those pestiferous English at New Haven could not forget nor would they willingly forego the advantages for settlement and trade that the Delaware River shores afforded. The fertility of the soil, the mild climate, the convenience of the navigable streams and the value of the fur trade were constant temptations to intrusion. In the summer of 1649, Governor Eaton proposed, at a meeting of delegates from the United Colonies held in Boston, that effectual measures be immedi-

ately adopted for English settlements on the Delaware. Stuyvesant, hearing of this, sent word that the Dutch were the owners of the River and would maintain their exclusive right to it. The English prudently let the matter drop, though not without a formal assertion of their superior claim to the territory in question.

But in another year, in the middle of another New England winter, the urge toward the south overcame prudence. A ship was fitted out and fifty settlers embarked. Incautiously they touched at Manhattan, and Stuyvesant arrested the whole expedition, releasing them only on their written pledge to go back home. He warned them that, if he caught them even trading on the Delaware, all their goods would be seized and they themselves would be shipped as prisoners to Holland. He also wrote to Eaton that he would oppose all such trespasses by "force of arms and martial opposition, even to bloodshed." That ended the matter, except for the usual protests from the defeated English.

Thus the Dutch, for their own purposes and with no altruistic motives whatever, were a wall of defense, protecting the weakling Swedish colony from the beginning of an English invasion that in a little while would have swamped New Sweden.

CHAPTER XXIII

OF THE *KATT'S* CATASTROPHE

AMID all this domestic discord and in the face of external aggression Printz, with anxious heart, awaited the arrival of the ninth expedition. He had called and called for more men. More settlers he must have to fill his depleted numbers, to hold the River against Dutch and English. Five times in the last two and a half years he had written home without receiving an answer. At last, early in 1649 the home government gave heed to his clamor. The *Kalmar Nyckel* was deemed unseaworthy because of age, and the *Katt*—Cat—was commissioned in its place.

There was no lack of willing colonists. Two hundred Finns petitioned to be sent, but without success, because Queen Christina thought it strange that they should want to go, "as there was enough land to be had in Sweden." One or two poachers, a few mutinous soldiers and a miscellany of others, men, women and children, seventy in all, were, however, assembled. Among them were a clergyman, Rev. Matthias Nertunius, a barber-surgeon, Timon Stidden, and a few others of superior fortune. A considerable quantity of merchandise,

trade goods and supplies, made up the cargo and, on July second 1649, the *Katt* sailed from Gothenburg.

Months passed, nearly a full year, and Printz was still waiting its arrival. In the summer of 1650, he had news of the disaster, complete and most extraordinary, which had befallen the ship and its company.

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The *Katt* sailed before a favoring wind, made Antigua, then St. Kitts, in good time. Watered and refreshed she laid her course to the island of St. Martin, where salt was loaded. August twenty-sixth she weighed anchor again and ran before the wind for twenty-four hours or so into dangerous waters. Once and twice, she felt the shock of sunken reefs, but passed over safely. The third time she was fast aground. Do what they might in the way of jettisoning ballast and cargo, they could not float her.

To a small uninhabited isle a dozen miles away, the boats carried women and children first and at last every man, passengers and crew. For eight days they were without water until distress signals called to them two Spanish ships. They were carried back to their own wrecked vessel, which the Spaniards looted, and thence to Porto Rico, eighty miles away.

To the market place of the city they were led "with drums and pipes and a great noise," and there a fire was kindled and all their heretical Swedish books were burned. Hans Amundsson, the commander of the expedition, had audience with Governor de la Riva, who promised freedom to the Swedes and to Amundsson a small monthly allowance for sustenance. The rest must work or beg or starve.

Opportunity was found to send two messengers, Rev. Nertunius one of them, to Stockholm, for aid. Before any answer

could be had, a Dutch slaver putting in to port was seized by the governor, and sent to the King of Spain as a gift, the Swedes being given permission to sail in her. But, when they assembled on the wharf, they were told that only Amundsson could go. Thrift, the saving of Amundsson's wage and of the food for the rest on the voyage, may have prompted this, or it may have been pure altruism, the desire to save these heretics' souls by converting them to the true faith. Active proselyting was under way. Converts were promised clothes and money, and some of the Swedes did recant their protestant heresy only to be disappointed when the promised earthly rewards were withheld. Some died, others found this means or that of leaving the island, so that when, in May 1650, a small bark was made available for the rest to depart, there were but twenty-four to go.

They sailed for St. Kitts with a passport from the Spanish governor. Off the island of St. Cruz a French ship overhauled them, made light of their Swedish and Spanish passes and took them all prisoner.

Now they were in worse case than before. Carried to St. Cruz, their goods were stolen, their captors fighting "like dogs" over them. Some were bound to posts, and shots were fired close to them. Others were suspended by ropes for two days and two nights, "until their bodies were blue, and the blood pressed out of their fingers." Tortures of various sorts, thumb-screws, burning of feet with hot irons, were employed to make them divulge the whereabouts of supposed hidden treasure. One woman was taken by the governor and killed after he had his will of her. Others were sold as slaves. When at last two Dutchmen, hearing of their plight, got an order from the Governor of St. Kitts for their release, there were

but five survivors, Johan Jonsson Rudberus, two women and two children, to be rescued. The two women and one child died the next day, the other child soon after.

Rudberus finally made his way to Sweden. Lycke and Nertunius also reached home, as did Timon Stidden, who, with his wife and five children, had managed to get away from Porto Rico before the others. In all only nineteen colonists out of seventy survived the hardships and tortures of the expedition.

CHAPTER XXIV

OF NEW SWEDEN AT ITS ZENITH

IN NOVEMBER of the year 1648 Andreas Hudde, commissary for the Dutch on the South River, sent Pieter Stuyvesant "A Brief, but True Report of the Proceedings of Johan Prints, Governor of the Swedish forces at the South River of New Netherland." It gives a picture of the colony at the height of Sweden's power on the Delaware.

"At the entrance of this River, three leagues from its mouth, on the east shore," says the report, "is a fort called Elsenburgh, usually garrisoned with 12 men and one lieutenant, 4 guns, iron and brass, of 12 pounds, 1 mortar," an earthwork by which Printz "holds the river locked for himself," so that all vessels are compelled to anchor there.

"About 3 leagues further up the River is another fort, called Kristina, on the west side on a Kill called the Minquase Kil," a tolerably strong fort, with no permanent garrison, but "pretty well provided." It is the principal place of trade and "the magazine for all the goods."

"About 2 leagues further up on the same side begin some plantations, continuing about 1 league, but these are only a few houses, and these scattering. They extend as far as Tinne-

konck, which is an island. . . . Governor Johan Printz has his residence there."

"Farther on, on the same side, to the Schuylkil, which is about 2 leagues, there are no plantations, nor any practicable, as there is nothing but thicket and low lands."

At the Schuylkill, there is a fort "on a very convenient island on the edge of the Kill," which controls "the only remaining avenue for commerce with the Minquase, without which trade this River is of little value."

"A little farther beyond this fort runs a kil extending to the forest (which place is called Kinsessing by the Indians). It has been a steady and permanent place of trade for our people with the Minquase, but has now been taken possession of by the Swedes with a blockhouse."

"Half a league farther through the woods" stand a mill and a blockhouse, "right on the path of the Minquase. . . . Thus there is no place open, to attract the said Minquase. In like manner he has almost the monopoly of the trade with the River Indians, as most of them go hunting this way and cannot get through, without passing this place. . . . Regarding his force: It consists at the most of 80 to 90 men, freemen as well as soldiers, with whom he has to garrison all his posts."

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Printz was master of the Delaware. With less than "80 to 90 men," he was in complete control of the west side of the River and Bay from Henlopen to the falls at Sankikan and the east side from Cape May to Fort Nassau. Stuyvesant might chafe and fume, protest and remonstrate against his "strange and sinister designs," issue orders to Hudde to prevent them, send important personages, vice-directors and councillors, bearing gifts to the Indian sachems and taking

from them deeds to their land, he might sign and deliver "deeds and investitures" to Dutchmen authorizing them to settle on the South River, it all amounted to nothing. Printz was still master of the Delaware. Give him more men, soldiers to defend, colonists to settle these hundreds of miles of river shore and bay shore and the hinterland to the Atlantic on the east and to the Chesapeake on the west, and Johan Printz would create a New Sweden that could stand beside New Netherland and New England unashamed; for Johan Printz was fit and capable to build an empire—but not with "80 to 90 men."

Even as it was, the Dutch on the South River were in despair. Adriaen van Tienhoven wrote to the "Honorable, Wise and most Prudent Sir, Mr. Petrus Stuyvesant," imploring him "at once to come here in person, to see the condition of this River, for the Swedes do here what they please." The blockhouse which Printz had built against the Dutch fort at Beversreede, he wrote, was not only "the greatest insult" that could be offered to "Their Honors, the Directors of the General Incorporated West-India Company," but also left the Dutch there not enough land to "make a little garden in the Spring." "It is a shame," wailed Adriaen.

But, "honorable" as he was beyond the common run of men, Mr. Petrus Stuyvesant was also too "wise and prudent" yet to use the last remedy against the Swedish intruder. Force might be hinted at, even threatened, but not yet employed. There were well-founded rumors current of a new and strong supporting expedition under preparation in Sweden. Mr. Stuyvesant must yet preserve an attitude of watchful waiting.

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So in 1649 except for the bit of land on the eastern bank on which stood Fort Nassau, and the bit on the western bank on which stood Fort Beversreede, the Dutch had not even a foothold on the Delaware, and in 1650 Beversreede and its tiny territory, "a piece of land about 50 feet square . . . outside of which nobody dared to cultivate a bit of land," were abandoned. Unless the Dutch were content to be crowded out altogether, something had to be done.

While poor Andreas Hudde, the Dutch commissary at Nassau, was regarding disconsolately the condition of his charge, he had news of further encroachments impending. Printz was about to buy all the land north of Nassau, thus completely enclosing the last toe-hold of the Dutch. With commendable alacrity Hudde forestalled him. The game of "buying land from the Indians" being thus on again, Printz countered by buying the eastern side from Mantas Hook to Narraticons Kill. Then Hudde bought from Narraticons Kill to the Bay. So they might have gone on, buying again and again the same lands from the always willing Indians and getting nothing but parchments, plus whatever land either side was resolute enough and strong enough to take and hold, but for Mr. Petrus Stuyvesant's sudden decision to leave off protests and threats and actually do something.

To this decision he was urged, first, by Printz's renewed hostilities against individual Dutch settlers near Beversreede, and, second, by a bit of news brought to New Amsterdam by Augustine Herrman, namely that the *Katt* had met disaster. No help from Sweden could be expected this year by Printz and his "80 to 90 men." The time was ripe for action.

CHAPTER XXV

OF THE COMING OF THE DUTCH AND THE BUILDING OF CASIMIR

STUYVESANT'S first move seemed hardly in accord with his reputation as a bold and forthright man. On May 8th 1651 a Dutch ship from New Amsterdam, "with people and cannon, well armed," sailed up the Delaware and anchored in the stream three or four miles below Fort Christina, "closing the river so that no vessel could proceed unmolested either up or down." In appearance it was a warlike act, but when Printz loaded his little "yacht" to the gunwales with cannon, ammunition and men, thirty men, more than a third of the whole River's adult male population, and went forth to challenge the intruder, the Dutchman weighed anchor and went home. "And thus," wrote Printz, "we secured the river open"—but not for long.

This was, in truth, but a trial balloon, a straw to see how the wind blew. Stuyvesant now knew that Printz would meet bluff with bluff, only a really strong hand would win the stake, the control of the River. In June he made his real play for it. Eleven ships, no less, four of them armed, all of them well manned, sailed from New Amsterdam. At the head of a hundred

and twenty soldiers Stuyvesant himself marched across country and met this fleet at Fort Nassau. With this army and navy, a force of men that must have outnumbered all the Swedes on the Delaware three or four to one, Printz could not possibly cope. While the ships sailed up and down "with drumming and cannonading" to impress both Swedes and Indians, Printz remained quietly at home. When Stuyvesant sent to him messengers and letters claiming for the Dutch the entire River by right of discovery and possession and purchase, he answered with "a simple writing" asserting Swedish rights within "limits wide and broad enough" to cover all their claims, but with no more support for them than an assertion that the deeds for his territory were in the chancery at Stockholm, nor would he be drawn into any argument or debate in the matter. To lie low and let the storm blow over was Printz's plan. Stuyvesant could not keep this force on the River permanently. The Dutchman might win this hand, but the Swedes were in the game for a long session. There were, however, cards up Stuyvesant's sleeve not yet visible to Printz.

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To Fort Nassau now flocked the Indian dealers in real estate, good old Mattahorn, trusty Peminacka and the rest, and Stuyvesant searched their titles by question and answer. Who owned the land on the west side of the River? queried Petrus. To which Peminacka on behalf of all answered, "We do." How much have you sold the Swedes? Only so much as Minuit "could set a house on and a plantation included between six trees," quoth Mattahorn. Will you sell all the rest to the Dutch? "Well—well—" Peminacka hesitated. He'd hardly like to do that. "Where then will the houses of the

Swedes remain? Will the sachem of the Swedes then not do us harm on that account, or put us in prison, or beat us?" Forebodings of what that big man down there at Printzhof might do to them, when the Dutch went home, loomed darkly.

A conference of sachems ensued and, when Peminacka stood forth from it, it was to give as a free gift to their dear Dutch friends all the land on the west side from Minquas Kill down to the Bay, only stipulating that they should fix his gun when it needed repair and give him a little maize "when he came empty among them." But no deeds, no, no signatures on parchment, just a little gift as from one friend to another, that was all. What you don't put in writing, you can always deny, and that big Swede was a bad man to quarrel with. So all the Dutchmen could get in writing was their own account of this verbal transaction, signed by themselves.

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Printz's rejoinder to this was rather feeble, but perhaps the best the circumstances permitted. Peminacka claimed that Mitatsimint, now dead, had given him all this land. Printz got an affidavit from Mitatsimint's widow and three children that the dead chief had given Peminacka hunting privileges only, and had sold the land itself to the Swedes. All of which, on both sides, Dutch and Swedes, was the merest legalistic nonsense. The Delaware River would belong to him who could take it and hold it, as both Stuyvesant and Printz well knew. Stuyvesant acted accordingly.

At Sandhook, on the west bank about five miles below Christina, where now New Castle stands, he landed two hundred men and set about building Fort Casimir. It was about two hundred feet long and half as wide, with emplacements for twelve guns. He abandoned Nassau and moved its guns

and garrison to Casimir. Probably, also, the Dutch settlers around Nassau moved down to Casimir. He stationed two warships in the River opposite the new fort.

And now the Dutch were potential masters of the Delaware. No ship could sail up or down the River past Fort Casimir and the two warships without the consent of Andreas Hudde, the commissary in charge at Casimir, unless it fought its way past them. New Sweden could be cut off from old Sweden and from all the English and Dutch traders that had supplied its needs, could be strangled whensoever the Dutch listed. Meantime it existed only by their leave. No matter what "rights" the Indians had or had not conferred on the Swedes by deeds or gifts, that fort and those warships could not be argued out of existence. Those concrete facts made the Dutch potential masters of the Delaware.

Yet, soldier and man of action though he was and as such the least inclined to regard paper "rights," Stuyvesant was not altogether free from superstition concerning the value of parchments and seals, and Printz, unable to resist by force, did his best to discomfort his adversary by clerkly tactics.

He wrote a letter to Stuyvesant setting forth his claim of previous purchase and denying Peminacka's title to the land south of Christina, and had it attested by Mitatsimint's widow and his available offspring. Stuyvesant's reply being evasive of this question of title, Printz filed a formal protest, repeating his claim of ownership all the way down to Boomtien's Hook. That worried Stuyvesant no little. After all he had no deed signed by Peminacka. The grant had been made merely by word of mouth. He must get something tangible, parchment and wax.

He called the sachems together and laid before them a deed

in proper form, which asserted their ownership to all the land on the west bank from Minquas Kill to Boomtien's Hook, denied that they had ever before sold it to "any nation in the world," conveyed it now to Peter Stuyvesant, "Chief Sachem of the Manhattans," and promised never again "to sell or transport the aforesaid land" to anyone else. By this time the strength of the Dutch and their preparations for permanent settlement must have exorcised from the Indians' minds their fear of Printz, for Mattahorn, Sinques and Ackehorn signed on the dotted line. It is an amusing fact that Peminacka, who alone had claimed title to the land before and who alone had given it to the Dutch, did not sign this deed.

Stuyvesant had now what he lacked before, good black on white no matter by whom it was signed. Do what he would after that, call a conference of sachems, and try to assert Mitatsimint's superior title, stir up the dead chief's kin, file protest after protest, Printz could not shake Stuyvesant's confidence in the strength of his position, fortified as it was by a crackling parchment. Old Petrus finished Fort Casimir and went back to New Amsterdam well satisfied with his work.

Back home in old Amsterdam, however, there were uncertainties and fears. The Directors of the Dutch West India Company did not know quite what to think about it. Sweden was nearer to them than it was to their director-general overseas, and they did not know how Her Majesty Christina would take this. They did not know whether the demolition of Fort Nassau was a prudent act. They did not know this and they did not know that. All they were sure of was that they hoped everything would turn out for the best.

CHAPTER XXVI

OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND DISCORD

PRINTZ did his best to keep the colony going in spite of adverse conditions. He cultivated the friendship of the Indians in order to hold the fur trade. The Dutch also curried favor with them. Success was now with one side, now with the other. The Dutch allowed general trading on the River. Though they required the English to pay duty on all goods passing Fort Casimir to be sold to the Swedes, they did not otherwise actively annoy their neighbors. Forty Dutch families were brought over and settled on the east bank, and there was talk of further extensive settlements, but none were made. In fact this latest Dutch venture lasted only about a year. Then the newcomers moved away.

There was a general contraction on both sides. The Dutch abandoned Beversreede, concentrating all their forces at Fort Casimir, which by April 1653 had twenty-six Dutch families settled around it. Printz gave up New Korsholm and the mill and blockhouse at Mölndal. Also he abandoned Fort Elfsborg.

Diedrich Knickerbocker in that quite unveracious chronicle, his *History of New York*, declares that the Swedes were driven from Elfsborg by a great cloud of mosquitoes that settled upon

the fortress attracted by the body of Jan Printz, "which was as big and as full of blood as that of a prize ox." He tells how Printz "moved about as in a cloud, with mosquito music in his ears and mosquito stings to the very end of his nose," and how the mosquitoes followed him to "Tinnekonk" and "absolutely drove him out of the country."

Although Printz may be absolved of the blame for attracting the mosquitoes since he never lived at Elfsborg, the story seems substantially true. Peter Lindeström, of whom more hereafter, confirms it. He says the mosquitoes "almost ate the people up there." "They sucked the blood from our people so that they became very weary and sick from it. In the daytime they had to fight continually with the mosquitoes and in the night they could neither rest nor sleep. . . . They were so swollen, that they appeared as if they had been affected with some horrible disease. Therefore they called this Fort Myggenborgh," that is to say Fort Mosquitoburg.

Printz held now only Fort Christina, his own place at Tinicum and the scattered plantations north of Christina. His numbers were down to seventy men all told, freemen, servants and soldiers, and a few women and children. He was too weak to hold a long line of defense, far too weak for any offense whatever. The Dutch had been admonished by the home office "to be very cautious in the intercourse with the Swedes . . . avoiding as much as possible to give them cause for complaints and dissatisfaction, as it is not desirable to add to the Company's enemies at this critical period." All was quiet along the Delaware in the years 1652 and 1653.

There was peace in New Sweden, but not prosperity. There had been no help from home since the arrival of the *Swan* early

in 1648, not even any advice or orders. Crops were poor in 1652, because of excessive rain. The fur trade was almost ruined, for there were no goods to barter and the Dutch were in favor with the Indians. Printz had in previous years kept up some show of industry other than agriculture and trading, building a sloop at Fort Christina in 1647, and a ship of two hundred tons begun in 1651 was finished the next year, "except for tackle, sails, cannon and crew," but now he fell ill and was unable to advance any new enterprises of that sort. All of the officers, soldiers and servants and many of the freemen were discontented. Supplies were short. Unduly high prices had to be paid for everything bought from the Dutch and English. The Indians were troublesome, not seriously, but very annoyingly, waylaying a pig or a cow now and then, stealing a gun here and there.

Repeatedly Printz had written home, reporting his difficulties, praying for more men, more supplies. No answers came back. In July he sent his son Gustaf to Sweden to urge the vital necessity of immediate succor, but this effort at quick communication with headquarters was thwarted.

England and the Netherlands, only two or three years before so closely related that a sort of federal union of the two countries had been seriously negotiated, had fallen out. The Dutch had made a treaty with Denmark injurious to English trade in the Baltic. England had retaliated with her Navigation Act, prescribing that her coastwise and colonial trade, theretofore largely carried on in Dutch ships, should be confined to English bottoms. War between the two ensued, and, as a very small item in a very hot naval conflict, the ship bearing young Printz homeward was arrested by the English. It was held at

London for three months. Gustaf did not get to Sweden until December.

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Shortly after Gustaf's departure the increasing discontent among the soldiers and settlers was openly manifested. Twenty-two of them signed a petition for redress of grievances. They complained that they were "at no hour or time secure as to life and property," that they were prevented from individual trading with either savages or Christians, although the governor traded for his own personal benefit without hindrance. They charged Printz with being brutal, avaricious and unjust, and they asked for the release of "Anders, the Finn," who seems to have been imprisoned in default of payment of a fine for some offense, "in order that his wife and children should not starve to death."

Printz was enraged. He arrested Anders Jönsson as the ringleader, charged him with treason, tried him and hanged him. There seems to be no record of the trial, and the constitution of the tribunal is not known, but it may well be believed that Printz was prosecutor, judge, chief witness and at least the better part of the jury. That this did not result in active rebellion is proof of the strength of Printz's personality. There was disaffection enough among soldiers as well as settlers to have overthrown the government of a less dominant dictator, but Printz's hold on power was not broken. After he had hanged Jönsson he replied to the petition, denying its charges and berating the rebels who had signed it. No one resisted him further.

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His position, nevertheless, had become untenable, not because of this domestic opposition, but through external circum-

stances and the very nature of the man himself. Printz was a born despot. Placed as he had been during the greater part of his régime, sole ruler of a small body of subservient people, so far removed from his overlords in Sweden that he was practically masterless, subject to no laws but the common law of Sweden and "the laws of God and Moses," of which, in their construction and application, he was sole judge and sole executive, dominating the whole territory of the River because of the weakness of his Dutch and English rivals, supported by supplies from home so that his economic position was fairly comfortable, his situation satisfied the requirements of his natural disposition. He was a square peg exactly fitting a square hole.

But in these latter years changes had occurred. The Dutch ruled the roost. Andreas Hudde, formerly the despised captain of half a dozen Dutchmen in the negligible little Fort Nassau, had now all suddenly become lord paramount of the River, to whom all flags must dip and without whose consent none might pass in or out. Behind him stood that terrible Stuyvesant, the equal of Printz in the vigor of his character and his superior in the armed forces under his control, who could muster a dozen ships and hundreds of men to match Printz's little yacht and his crew of thirty. These rapacious Dutchmen had the power to take and hold the whole territory from the capes to the falls, and who could tell when they might see fit to exercise it? The glory of New Sweden had departed. It existed now only on sufferance, and Printz was no man to be satisfied in such a humiliating position. Humbled pride was unbearable by him.

The internal affairs of the colony were no less displeasing. Apparently abandoned by the powers at home, lacking neces-

sary supplies for its own use and for trade with the Indians, unreplenished by new settlers, diminishing in numbers year by year, the colony seemed fated to actual extinction. The leadership of an inglorious failure had no charms for a man of Printz's disposition.

The unrest among his subjects, which had resulted in their recital of grievances by petition, was ominous of a far more dangerous insubordination. Hanging another man might not serve to quell a second rebellious demonstration. The oppressed soon tire of that sort of treatment. In case of armed insurrection Printz knew that he could not count on the loyalty of his professional soldiers, who were themselves dissatisfied with their condition. Inside the colony, as well as outside, prospects were gloomy.

Moreover he had long been tired of his job. More than once he had prayed for recall. It is no light task to carry on such an ill-supported, isolated and in every way precarious colonial experiment in a rude undeveloped country. The mere bodily exertion involved in getting about in the wilderness, without considering the mental effort necessary to solve new and constantly arising problems, taxes heavily the endurance of even the physically fit, and Printz was a fat man, "weighing over four hundred pounds." All in all one may well be surprised that he held on for ten years.

But now the end had come. Printz had had enough. If they would not relieve him, he would relieve himself. He was going home.

He assembled the Indian sachems at Printzhof, made them a speech promising to return with many men and much merchandise, gave them gifts. He promised the colonists that

within ten months he would either return or send them a shipload of supplies. He turned his office over to his son-in-law, Johan Papegoja, and in October 1653, with his wife and four daughters, Hendrick Huygen and about twenty-five settlers and soldiers, he sailed from New Amsterdam, never to return.

CHAPTER XXVII

OF THE CHARACTER OF A GOVERNOR

HE character of such a man as Johan Printz cannot be adequately and justly summarized in a paragraph. It is not difficult to assemble adjectives fairly applicable. If you say that he was headstrong, masterful, tyrannical, rough, hot tempered, profane, violent, passionate, overbearing, arrogant, arbitrary, unjust, you make a true statement. On the other hand, if you say that he was an intelligent man, a brave soldier, a strict disciplinarian, a shrewd manager, an able administrator and a firm believer in "the pure word of God, according to the Augsburg confession," you are not going beyond the facts. The difficulty is in combining these qualities, in their proper proportions and relations, into a true picture.

In many respects he was the equal of Stuyvesant in ability and not unlike him in character. Both were bold vigorous men, mentally and physically. Both were able executives, both were natural despots. Both of them succeeded to a high degree in efficiently functioning in their similar offices. Printz's task was, however, far simpler than Stuyvesant's, who had to cope externally with strong as well as troublesome neighbors, the encroaching English of New England and the actively hostile

Indians, and internally with a nationally diversified and naturally refractory population in a community largely commercial and hence more complicated in its domestic and foreign relationships. It is more than doubtful, it is practically certain, that Printz could not have governed New Amsterdam as well as Stuyvesant governed it. He lacked many of the qualities of Stuyvesant. In good judgment, intellectual power, adaptability, farsightedness and in the fairly single-minded devotion to the welfare of his colony with which the Dutchman can be credited, Printz did not measure up to his rival. In another particular, personal honesty, one fears that he was also deficient.

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After Printz's death in 1663 his heirs claimed from the Swedish government his full salary for all the years he was in the colony and nearly sixteen thousand dalers that he had advanced to the soldiers and servants of the company in New Sweden. This claim was allowed in full. It must be, then, that Printz had private resources on which he lived for ten years and out of which he made these advances. What were they?

It is also stated on apparently good authority that he returned to Sweden a wealthy man. The exact words are "through wise management he collected almost a little fortune on the Island of Tinicum." How did he do it?

It will be remembered that, in the ill-fated petition for redress of grievances of the colonists, it was charged that, while he prevented the colonists from trading for furs, the beaver trade being reserved to the company exclusively, he engaged in the traffic on his own account and for his own profit. After he went home, this accusation was renewed in a similar paper signed by many of the settlers. It was specifically charged

that he sold large quantities of beavers to the English for gold and sent "heaps of beaver skins to Holland." There is no record to show that Printz cleared himself of guilt in this respect, nor even that he made any exculpating answer. Hanging Anders Jönsson can hardly be regarded as a convincing reply.

The best that his apologists have to offer is the suggestion that he made advances of money and goods to the colonists from time to time, and that "in some instances" he was repaid in beaver skins. But such repayments as are now traceable in the records are for trifling amounts, and against such an explanation must be set his heirs' claim for nearly sixteen thousand dalers of such advances unpaid. This explanation is hardly satisfactory.

The plain fact of the matter is that Printz, as governor of the colony and custodian of the rights of the company and the colonists, was in no position to make "a little fortune" honestly. Those repeated indictments, drawn and signed at the risk of their lives by the colonists, have the ring of truth, and it will take more than a statement that "most of the charges against him were probably unjust," or that they were "overdrawn or ill founded," or that "some allowance must be made," to clear Printz's name.

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Aside from this matter of personal integrity, Printz did as well for the company as any governor, conditioned as he was, should have been expected to do. The manifold and diverse instructions under which he worked were pretty well followed. He upheld the Swedish rights on the river, he got along with the Indians reasonably well, he carried on the fur trade as long as he had goods to trade with, he governed the colony, though

harshly. He administered justice as he understood the meaning of the word. He fostered agriculture and encouraged manufactures within the limits of his narrow resources. He upheld religion.

In one or two respects he lacked success, for example in the requirement that he lead the Indians to Christianity. He did try. He got one or two to go to church once, but they failed to understand "why one man stood alone and talked so long and had so much to say, while all the rest were listening in silence." Christianity failed to interest them.

It then became evident to Printz that more radical measures must be adopted. He was always an advocate of thoroughness when dealing with Indians. The first year after his arrival, finding that the River Indians had few furs to sell, and so were unprofitable neighbors, he proposed to have two hundred soldiers sent over from Sweden to kill them all, "to break the necks of every one on the River," as he put it.

Later, in his efforts to convert them to Christianity, he revived this proposal in a modified form. He would only kill all the Indians who would not accept "the one true religion." But the home office was not prepared to sanction such vigorous religious propaganda, so Printz gave it up and abandoned the heathen to their dreadful fate. In this respect, then, he fell short of his instructions, and in one other. He never did raise any silkworms.

CHAPTER XXVIII

OF THE CHARACTER OF A QUEEN

F CHRISTINA of Sweden had been a dutiful child, inclined to regard the feelings of her parents, she would have been born a boy. They both expected it of her and with good reason, for the astrologers and soothsayers, whom they anxiously consulted prior to her birth, assured them that, with the Sun, Mars, Mercury and Venus in conjunction at the anticipated time, a male child was a certainty. Characteristically Christina broke all the rules and was born a girl.

Fortified by his habitual piety Gustavus was unshaken by the sad news. He first gave thanks to God for this undesired gift and then manfully set about righting the error of Providence by making a man of her.

"Man," in the vocabulary of the great Gustavus, was synonymous with "soldier." Therefore it delighted him when he found little Christina's reformation from the error of femininity so far advanced at the age of three that she "crowed and clapped her tiny hands at the blare of trumpets and the roar of cannon." Given time for the task he might have made of her a Boadicea, a Penthesilea. She seemed fit material, physically and mentally. Though small she was strong, and

she had "the very features of the Grand Gustavus," including his nose, a high-bridged salient dominating nose. She always regretted her sex, openly and frequently expressing contempt for womanhood and women. She was inclined to martial adventure and lamented, as an irreparable misfortune, her father's untimely death at Lützen, because it had prevented her "from serving an apprenticeship in the art of war to so complete a master."

But the scant six years of her life from her birth to her father's death, during most of which he was away at the wars, were not enough for the training of an Amazon. Then she fell into the hands of the men of peace, the clerks and scholars. Axel Oxenstierna, the Chancellor of Sweden, head of the regency during her minority, undertook to instruct her in politics. The learned scholar, Johannes Matthaei, became her master in other branches of knowledge. Between them they turned out, instead of a warrior queen, a royal bluestocking, but a bluestocking with a difference. A learned lady she became, but more learned than lady. So far as possible her masculine traits, as being more suitable to a reigning sovereign, had been developed by her tutors. Her naturally strong will —she had the nose of Gustavus—had been strengthened to imperiousness, and her inborn and early developed love of regal pomp and power fostered to excess.

At the age of seven she sat upon a high silver throne and, unabashed, received in state the bearded ambassadors from Muscovy. At fifteen she presided in the senate, and "became at once incredibly powerful therein," astonishing the senators "at the influence she gains over their sentiments." At eighteen she assumed the sceptre, and very soon made things so uncomfortable for her childhood's mentor, Chancellor Oxenstierna,

that he had to leave the royal court and retire to his country estate. Then, unhampered by wisdom, unrestrained by prudence, she alone ruled over Sweden.

The martial proclivities of her youth were no longer apparent. Instead she seemed impelled by a desire to do two things, to advance learning and the arts in Sweden and to make the Swedish court the most elegant, gay and extravagant court in Europe.

On the one hand she established schools, encouraged the feeble national science and literature to a stronger growth, collected books and treasures of art, fostered learned societies, patronized foreign artists, philosophers and scholars, and brought many of them into Sweden, among others the great Descartes.

On the other, she made the royal court at Stockholm famous for its brilliance and gayety. Balls, masques, pageants, every kind of extravagant merrymaking engaged her energies. To add to its lustre she created counts by the dozen, barons by the score and lesser nobles by the hundred, and provided them with revenues suitable to their degree, out of the state funds.

She combined the two objects of her life with pleasant whimsicality, as by interrupting a learned colloquy between two philosophers and making them play at battledore and shuttlecock until they could no longer lift an arm, as by compelling three of the most eminent Swedish scholars to pirouette in a classic dance, the music growing faster and faster as she called the time, until they fell fainting before her. She killed Descartes by requiring him to attend her at such unseasonable hours in the depth of winter that he fell into a mortal illness.

For ten years she kept up this mixture of praiseworthy statesmanship and insane folly, spending the national treasure

and the royal revenues with such prodigality, that she nearly bankrupted the kingdom. Then she abdicated the throne, donned the clothing of a man, assumed the name of Count Dohna and left Sweden. Abandoning the faith for which her father fought she became a Catholic. After a time she regretted her abdication, and she spent much of the last thirty years of her life in vain efforts to recover her throne. She died in Rome in 1689, "poor, neglected and forgotten."

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During the ten years of her reign that little star in the galaxy of Sweden's glory, the colony on the Delaware, shone so feebly, was so dimmed by the effulgent splendors of the royal court that it seemed to her a negligible luminary. Of how little importance was that handful of rude unlettered men, peasants for the most part, scattered thinly along a far-off savage shore, compared with the crowd of learned scholars, clever artists and brand-new home-made noblemen, that thronged the court at Stockholm. It was hardly worth while for so great a personage as Queen Christina to bother her head about such a trifle as New Sweden, and very little attention she gave it.

After Klas Fleming's death in 1644, there was no efficient directing head to the Company. Chancellor Oxenstierna did his best to keep it going, but, when he fell out of favor and retired to the country in 1647, he lost his influence at court and with it much of his power. He was old and tired, unfit to cope with adverse conditions. The succeeding expeditions were long drawn out in preparation and ill managed in execution. Hundreds of colonists anxious to go to New Sweden were unprovided with transport and even refused royal permission to emigrate. Printz was left for four years without new

supplies or new men, without even an answer to his appeals for help. The whole affair dragged miserably.

In 1652 there was a slight showing of royal interest in the colony. The Queen presided at the Council of State and heard reports of its condition. But the only result was her suggestion that the management of the enterprise be transferred to the College of Commerce, a mere shifting of responsibility without any prospect of betterment.

In the next year, however, there was a revival of real activity. Eric Oxenstierna, son of old Axel, who had been made general director of the College, was interested in colonial expansion. The letters and reports from Printz were dusted off and given consideration. A new expedition was ordered to be sent to his aid. The Queen, displaying a momentary interest, decided that two ships with three hundred colonists and large cargoes of supplies should go out to him. New Sweden was to be saved.

CHAPTER XXIX

OF THE VOYAGE OF A PLAGUE SHIP

PREPARATIONS began in August on a grand scale. The good ships *Örn*—Eagle—of the royal navy and *Gyllene Haj*—Golden Shark—were selected. Supplies were bought. Colonists to the number of two hundred and fifty, "the greatest part good men, fewer women, and fewest children," were sought. Soldiers, fifty of them, were hired. These people were assembled at Stockholm in increasing numbers from September onward and in November rushed to Gothenburg to embark.

There they were mustered and "their certificates and testimonials examined," so as to exclude "any criminals, malefactors or others who had done any wrong . . . so that God, the Most High, might not let His revenge and punishment afflict the accompanying good people and the ship and goods, with the bad and wicked," so writes Peter Mårtensson Lindeström, a military engineer, who went with this expedition.

Lindeström notes a reversal of the former policy of sending malefactors to the new country, which had prevailed because "no one dared to undertake the long and difficult voyage." Now, he says, "plenty of good people can easily be had, yes, even many more than can be shipped over." At this very time

they had to leave behind "about 100 families, good honest people" for want of room in the ship. Eleven weeks later the selected emigrants were still in Gothenburg.

There had been the usual difficulties and delays, including the late-discovered unseaworthiness of the *Gyllene Haj*, which, after the customary rebuilding and repairs arrived at Gothenburg in mid January "leaky and in bad condition." Her passengers and cargo were crowded into the already full *Örn*, and on February second the expedition started, in a "cracking cold winter and great storm." Johan Rising, secretary of the College of Commerce, was in command. Among other notables were Lieutenant Elias Gyllengren and Captain Sven Skute.

The voyage was typical of those days of leisurely peregrination. Two days after sailing the ship was driven back by head winds and was found to be leaking. Mending the leak "as well as possible," they started again on the sixth day. Storms turned them from their course. On the fourteenth day their captain "was so confused that he, with astonishment, did not know in what region we were, because, on account of the dark and obscure weather," he had been unable to make any observations. To his surprise, he found they were near Calais and there they anchored.

Setting out again they were halted by three English frigates on suspicion that the *Örn* was a Dutch ship. The Swedes were loath to submit to examination and yielded only after their bowsprit had been shot away. Proving their nationality they had to go to Dover to get a passport from the English admiral to go through the Channel.

On the twenty-sixth day of their voyage they put in at Weymouth for fresh water. Then they stopped at what is now Falmouth for two or three days. Here the officers were "mag-

nificently treated and entertained by the local Governor" at a dinner enlivened by toasts. "At each toast the English gave a double salute, which was continued with uninterrupted shooting" until they took leave sometime after midnight.

During their voyage thence across "the Western Ocean" for two weeks and a half, "a terrible and violent storm" prevailed, "so that we could take or observe no elevations, finally not knowing where we were." On March twentieth after dark they anchored off an island, whose inhabitants "discharged their guns and shot at us the whole night." It proved to be one of the Canaries.

Next day the governor visited the *Örn* "with three large yachts and a numerous suite." He treated them well, and, though the populace at first stoned them in the streets, their stay of four or five days was memorable for sumptuous dinners of "a hundred courses," not of "meat, fish, bread" or such common food but of "mere sweetmeats, of the fruits that grow there," served on covered silver platters to the music of trumpets and kettledrums. Memorable it was also for the constancy with which they withstood persistent efforts of monks, "right good drinking brothers, who could do full justice to the cup," and certain "beautiful and charming nuns" to seduce these good Lutherans from their faith.

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On March twenty-sixth they left the Canaries. Two weeks later they were holding "a ship council" to consider their serious condition. They were a miserable ship's company. All sorts of "violent and contagious diseases" had been rife among them during the voyage, "so that there was such lamentation and misery, yes, lamentation above lamentation, so that a person, even if he had a heart of stone would have felt sorrow

and grief on account of the miserable condition." Very many had died. "Frequently, when the roll was called in the morning there would be 3, 6, 8 or 9 corpses, which one after the other would be laid out on board, and after the clergyman had thrown three shovels of ashes on them and performed the ceremony, they were shoved overboard and their grave was dug deep enough for them."

The desperate condition of the emigrants is described in detail by Lindeström. Closely packed together, in "the unnatural heat of the sun," with no change of linen for their verminous bodies, eating "coarse and rotten victuals such as entirely decayed fish: putrid water to drink, that stank like the worst of carrion," none but the most hardy could have survived the horrors of such a voyage.

In the midst of these miseries they sighted three Turkish ships approaching "in a hostile manner." Now there was "misery upon misery with us on our ship among our people," so that "we hardly knew in a hurry what to take hold of to make a resistance against the enemy." The cannon were so covered up with "an enormous amount of trumpery . . . boxes, chests, tubs and all sorts of things," that they were useless. There were, however, two large guns on the lower deck and four small ones on the upper that were clear.

All the sick people were carried on deck. "Even if they were half dead, every man had to go up, and only hold a gun in their hands, if they could do no more; but those who had not enough strength to stand were propped up and supported between two healthy men." All available arms, muskets, clubs, spears, were distributed, and then brandy was served "to strengthen them somewhat." And so this stricken ship manned by half-dead scarecrows made ready for action.

But there was no battle. Two rounds from its lame-duck battery gave the Turk pause, and "when he saw such a large number of men on our ship, and observed that we had so heavy cannon, he did not dare risk an attack. Consequently he set his course back again."

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On April sixteenth they arrived at St. Kitts, where "the English bombarded us merrily, until they obtained information of what nation we were." Then they had permission to land, take in supplies and to regale their people with fresh water, meat and fruits. Two weeks later they ran into a fearful storm that carried away all their sails, "as if they had been cut from the ropes with knives." Even with all the canvas gone, the ship was so "thrown over on the side that the whole length of the masts touched on the waves," and many were lost overboard. All the masts had to be cut away.

With jury-masts under such rags of canvas as they could muster, thinking they were entering New Sweden Bay, they staggered into the Bay of Virginia on the twelfth of May. Another storm overtook them there and again they were stripped of canvas. They ran on a reef that "cracked severely in the ship." Being informed by some Englishmen of their error in geography, they put about and on May twentieth, one hundred and seven days from Gothenburg, they anchored in the Delaware off Fort Elfsborg.

Two days later the survivors of the voyage disembarked at Fort Christina. A hundred out of three hundred and fifty had died. The rest were so "ill on the ship and the smell was so strong that it was impossible to endure it any longer." The very sailors were so weak that "they could not lift up the anchor, nor row the boat without aid from the colonists."

"And thus was (glory be to God)," says Lindeström, "our voyage to that place in West India, [to which] we intended to go, fortunately carried out and finished. . . . The person who cannot pray to God, let him be sent on such a long and dangerous voyage, and he shall surely learn to pray."

So came the *Örn*, the last ship from the fatherland to New Sweden, the last because Rising on his way up the River had indulged in a diversion whose ultimate consequence was the complete and final extinguishment of New Sweden.

CHAPTER XXX

OF AN ARGUMENT AND GRAVE REMONSTRANCE

AMONG the manifold duties imposed on Rising by "The Orders of her Royal Majesty, as well as the Instructions and Memorials of the Commercial College," was one that had to do with the Dutch at Fort Casimir. It was desired that the entire River be secured to the Swedes, "yet without hostility." "If the Dutch could not be removed by argument and grave remonstrances and everything else that can be done without danger and hostility," then it was deemed better to tolerate them there and to build a fort below them to control the River, "since a hostile attack is not compatible with the weak power of the Swedes at that place."

When the Dutch commander of Fort Casimir saw the *Örn* lying before Fort Elfsborg he sent Adriaen van Tienhoven and four others to board her and "ascertain whence she came." Rising received them politely, kept them overnight and got from them his first news of affairs on the River and, especially, of the weakness of the garrison in Casimir, which "had fallen into almost total decay." In that weakness he saw his opportunity to follow his instruction that the entire River be secured to the Swedes, and on that basis he formulated the "argument

and grave remonstrance," which should convince the Dutch commander of the injustice of his tenure of the fort.

The next morning he dropped anchor off Fort Casimir and fired a salute. It was not answered by the Dutch. It was no lack of politeness that dictated this failure of courtesy, but sheer inability. There was no gunpowder in Fort Casimir.

Rising then sent Captain Skute and Lieutenant Gyllengren ashore with four files of musketeers to present his "argument" to the Dutch commander, Gerrit Bicker. It was, in form and substance, brief and easy to understand, being simply a demand for immediate surrender. Nothing but stupidity on Bicker's part could account for his failure instantly to comprehend so logical an "argument" and to admit its validity, yet there was delay. Bicker wanted to discuss the matter, to consult his officers, though surely there was nothing in such a simple request to discuss or consult about. Yet Bicker was not devoid of the rudiments of logic. When van Tienhoven urged him to defend the fort, he answered most aptly, "What can I do? There is no powder." Nevertheless, he delayed his reply.

Rising, annoyed at Bicker's obtuseness, "let them have a couple of shots" from his heaviest guns, as a reminder that he had other "arguments" to follow the first, if necessary. Then Gyllengren with his musketeers "forced himself into the fort" and ordered the garrison to lay down its arms. He pulled down the Dutch flag and hoisted the banner of Sweden. Powder was brought from the *Örn* and Gyllengren fired a salute from the guns of the fort in token of the triumph of mind over matter, of Swedish logic over Dutch unreason. And thus, "without hostility," Rising induced the Dutch to admit the justice of Sweden's claim to the whole River.

It being Trinity Sunday the fort was renamed Trefaldighet

—Trinity. It was found to contain a garrison of twelve men, thirteen cannon, sixty cannon-balls, a few muskets, a thousand bullets and no powder. There were twenty-one houses in the village around the fort, occupied by as many families of Dutch settlers. These colonists were promised freedom on an equality with the Swedes, if they would swear allegiance to Sweden, and at Fort Christina two days later they all appeared led by Bicker and "with one mouth" expressed their heartfelt desire for naturalization. "They then took the oath in the open air, with a waving banner overhead," and were received with open arms and a banquet as true and loyal subjects of the Queen. Bicker and Andreas Hudde were especially joyful in their release from subjection to the Prince of Orange and Governor Stuyvesant. Hudde promised to "serve Rising as faithfully as he had served his former master," which must have greatly comforted Rising.

There were, of course, a few undesirables to be deported. Adriaen van Tienhoven and Cornelius de Boer were held to be so infected with loyalty to their own nation as to be dangerous citizens. De Boer was especially criminal, having spoken disrespectfully of the good Queen, and his land and personal property, including six or seven goats, were confiscated. So pure logic overcame false reasoning, truth prevailed over error, and the sun set on the evening of May 23, 1654, on a one hundred percent Swedish river.

CHAPTER XXXI

OF THE SWEEPING OF A NEW BROOM

WITH the additions made by the *Örn's* passengers and by the newly naturalized Dutch, the population of New Sweden was suddenly increased to three hundred and sixty-eight persons. The resources of the colony in the matter of food and shelter were severely strained. Many of the new arrivals were sick and unable to fend for themselves. Disease spread among the Indians and they avoided the colony, so that the customary supplies of meat, fish and maize were cut off. But Rising sent a sloop to Hartford to buy grain and provisions, and after a few weeks the Indians began to trade again. With these fresh supplies and the recuperation of the sick people, their immediate necessities were met and the prospect brightened.

Land was allotted to the new settlers along the River between the forts, Christina and Trefaldighet, and upwards along Christina Kill. Lindeström was ordered to divide the fields on the north of Fort Christina into lots and to lay out streets for a village close to the fort. Houses began to arise on the new farms and in the new little town, called Christinahamn. An alehouse at Tinicum was floated down and set up in the

village for an inn. The fort and storehouses were repaired. The former Dutch fort was also strengthened by entrenchments along its front, in which four new cannon were placed, and it was furnished with ammunition. In short, the revival of hopes and the betterment of conditions following the arrival of the *Örn* showed themselves in all material ways. New Sweden was in better case now than it had ever been before.

It was none too soon. After Printz's departure the colony had fallen into hopelessness. Fifteen of its small number had fled to Virginia and Maryland, and most of the rest would have gone too, if relief had not come in the *Örn*, says Lindeström. Those who had left were charged with "desertion," and Papegoja hired some Indians to bring them back. There was a fight and all that the Indians brought back were two heads, which did not help matters much. Their Indian neighbors had got out of hand too, and burned Fort New Korsholm. It was a fast-fading colony that was revived by the arrival of the *Örn*.

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Rising had been given alternative orders. If he found Printz there, he was to act as his assistant or commissary. If Printz had left, he was to take over the government, with the title of Director of New Sweden, with Sven Skute as commander of the soldiery and Johan Papegoja as civil assistant. The temporary vice-director therefore surrendered his office, and Rising assumed the colony's headship.

His instructions, as usual, imposed on him numerous and varied duties. The first was in itself enough to tax the powers of any man, being a comprehensive order "to bring the country on a prosperous footing." While filling this larger order, he was to occupy and clear new land, plant tobacco, sow grain,

hemp and linseed, cultivate grapes and fruit trees, grow ginger and sugar cane and—the folks at home never would get that idea out of their heads—to raise silkworms. Where he was to get the first pair was not suggested. Then he was to found cities—little Christinahamn must qualify for that—"select harbors and begin commerce," drawing all the trade of the river into Swedish hands. Also he must prospect for minerals, establish ropewalks, tanneries, sawmills, tar-burneries and manufactories of wooden ware. He must keep peace with Indians, Dutch and English, but fortify the country and ward off all attack. He must increase the population by inviting all good men to rally to the Swedish standard, but he must expel all ill-disposed persons. He must make laws for the conservation of game and timber—putting the fear of them into the hearts of those poaching forest-destroying Finns—also laws governing trade, agriculture and other pursuits. These things done or while they were doing, he must "institute commercial relations with Africa," and "send game, beer, bread and brandy to Spain" and lumber to the Canaries. He was to handle all moneys of the Company in New Sweden, supervise its merchandise, keep books and accounts, raise money when needed, and appoint judges.

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Rising did his best. He called the colonists together and cheered their hearts by telling them that hereafter the trade with the Indians, for furs and what not, was free to them all, no longer monopolized by the Company, though they must pay an export tax of two percent. Also they could buy land in fee simple from the Company or the Indians. He promised them continued support from home.

This good news was celebrated by a day of fasting and

prayer—a sort of Swedish Thanksgiving Day. He established laws regulating the rights and legal status of the various classes of the population, soldiers, servants and freemen, regulating also the ownership of land and its management in agriculture and forestry, and, as has been told, he assigned land, established a village and strengthened the colony's defenses. He portioned out the Company's cattle among the settlers, buying more cows from the English of Virginia.

For his own use he selected Timber Island and adjoining land running to Skoldpadde Kill—Turtle Kill, now Shellpot Creek—cleared the island, planted fruit trees and built a house "with two stories and a dwelling as well as a cellar below it."

Also he wrote to Eric Oxenstierna to send him a good wife, with no specification, other than a suggestion that colonial women ought to be able "to look after the garden and the cattle, to spin and to weave both the linen and the wool . . . to keep the nets and seines in order, to make malt, to brew the ale, to cook the food, to milk the cows, to make the cheese and butter." It was not necessarily an ornamental wife that he required, just a good useful homebody.

The people, too, set to work with a will. More land was cleared by the usual Swedish method, the trees being felled and allowed to lie for a year. Then the useful logs were trimmed and hauled out, and the rest burned. Rye was sown in the ashes, and the next year the land was under the plow. Fields were fenced and various crops were planted, grown, harvested and stored for winter. The first roads were laid out, and gradually made possible for wheeled vehicles. Altogether the colony was in good heart during the year after Rising came.

It was not yet self-supporting, however. Recourse must still

be had to the Indians and the English for meat, provisions and many other necessaries. Everybody looked forward to the arrival of the belated *Gyllene Haj* with its cargo of supplies. But it never came.

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With the usual ineptitude of the Swedish mariners in the matter of making their intended landfall, even after so many of their ships had made the same voyage, the *Gyllene Haj* missed Delaware Bay by more than two hundred miles, and found the North River. Stuyvesant seized it, in spite of the protest of Hendrick van Elswyck, its commander, and imprisoned its crew in the guard-house.

This was not merely an act of retaliation for the taking of Fort Casimir. There was policy behind it. It might be used as a pawn in the game, traded for Casimir. To open negotiations Stuyvesant allowed van Elswyck to go to Christina and invite Rising to a conference at New Amsterdam under letters of safe conduct. But Rising declined the invitation. No further move was made. The cargo was taken ashore, the ship, renamed *Diemen*, was put in the Dutch Company's service, most of the people who had come over in her settled in New Amsterdam, and that was the end of the eleventh expedition.

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For the moment there was no further hostile move on the part of the Dutch, but the English bothered Rising quite a bit. Governor Bennet of Maryland sent an embassy in June to discuss boundaries. They made the usual claim of their right to the River on the score of original discovery and of the grant to Lord Baltimore. Rising replied that the Spaniards were the first discoverers, and, that "King James's donation, . . . was

like the donation given by the Pope in Rome to the Kings of Castilien and of Portugal, the Pope giving what he did not own, nor was able to give," which seems an apt reply. For the Swedes he claimed it on grounds of possession by conquest or occupation of deserted and desolate land, by donation or purchase from the rightful owners and by continuous possession and occupation, asserting that his people qualified on all these counts. "To this," says Rising, "Mr. Lloyd [chief of the embassy] answered not a word." Nothing more was heard from Maryland.

But New England popped its head above the northern horizon to assert ownership of "large tracts of land on both sides of the Delaware Bay and River" bought by its people from the Indians, and suggested a conference to arrange for settlement thereon. Rising dug up his Indian deeds and sent copies of them to Governor Eaton, with an "attestation" signed by the oldest colonists denying altogether the English claims.

At a General Court in New Haven in November, the matter came up for discussion. Committees were appointed, a new Delaware company organized, fifty people joined it, and plans were laid for colonization. There was a conference at New Amsterdam between Vice-Governor Goodyear and van Elswyck, and a great deal of running to and fro, which all came to nought. The Swedes would not consent and the English dared not use force.

Soon after Rising's arrival he had a conference with the Indians up the river. "Twelve sachems or princes" met him at Printzhof. Eternal friendship was sworn, gifts were given them, and cannon fired in token of amity. A great ship full

of desirable things and many men had arrived. The Dutch had been expelled. The Swedes were now the rich and powerful party, and the hearts of the Indians burned with love for them. When the question as to the Swedes' title to the land from Sandhook up to Mariken's Point—New Castle to Marcus Hook—was raised, great chief Peminacka, who had formerly transferred it all to the Dutch, now gave it as a free gift to the Swedes, who, though they had always denied that he had any right, now received it with gratitude. Then Ahopameck gave them the land above that to the Schuylkill. More "princes" came from the east bank, and confirmed former gifts and sales. Four sachems of the Minquas dropped in and donated the land on the Chesapeake on the east side of the Elk. Everything was lovely all along the line, and the Swedes' collection of Indian autographs attained museum proportions.

In most respects the affairs of the colonists seemed prosperous. Their numbers were large, they held all the River, they were clearing more and more land, building more and more houses. Their spiritual welfare was cared for by the Rev. Matthias Nertunius at Upland, Rev. Peter Hjort at Trefaldighet and Rev. Lars Lock at Christina. A court was established at Tinicum, and various cases were tried there. One of these involved the engineer Lindeström, who with another was accused of "pounding an Englishman, Simon Lane, blue," but the charge was withdrawn. Andreas Hudde was tried for harboring intentions of desertion, but, confessing his fault, was forgiven. In numerous cases there was evidence of attempts at the formal administration of justice.

There was a shortage of food. The grain crop of 1655 failed because of the severity of the previous winter. Miscellaneous

supplies were lacking. The loss of the cargo of the *Gyllene Haj* was a heavy blow. But, on the whole, the skies seemed fair. The storm brewing in New Amsterdam and old Amsterdam had not yet lifted its black cloud above the horizon of New Sweden.

CHAPTER XXXII

OF THE GATHERING OF THE STORM

HEN news of the atrocious conduct of Director Rising in the matter of Fort Casimir reached Holland, which was as soon as, with all urgent haste, Governor Stuyvesant could get it across the Atlantic, it was received by the Noble College of XIX, the Lords Directors of the General Incorporated West India Company, with profound astonishment. After all these years of claim and counter-claim, of protest and counter-protest, of the crackling of parchment, of defiances and challenges and threats and promises of action, of menacing forefingers and shaken fists, that anyone should actually do something seemed quite incredible. Yet there it was in black and white in an official message from the veracious Stuyvesant. Fort Casimir had been rudely, forcibly taken by the Swedes. Incredulity gave way to belief, and amazement was drowned in indignation, to which succeeded stern determination. To actual aggression only one answer was possible.

"How very much we were startled by the infamous surrender of the Company's fort on the South River," wrote the Directors in a private letter to Stuyvesant under date of November 16th, 1654, "and by the violent and hostile usurpa-

tion of the Swedes there, your Honor will have sufficiently learned from our general letter, sent herewith, in which, to express further and in greater detail our serious opinion or intention, we did not deem advisable, as the same must be kept as secret as possible."

That "general letter" had merely said that as this outrage could not be tolerated, "other provisions must be made in due time that no more damage is done us." As mild a commentary as could well be made, it was, in fact, but a velvet glove to conceal the iron hand of these secret instructions.

The privately communicated "serious intention" was that his Honor must do his utmost to revenge this misfortune, not only by "restoring matters to their former condition, but also by driving the Swedes at the same time from the river."

Nor did the Lords Directors content themselves with writing letters. Preparations for war in the grand manner were immediately under way. To enlist volunteers, the drum was beaten daily in the streets of old Amsterdam. Two ships, the *Groote Christoffel*—Great Christopher—and the *Swarte Arent*—Black Eagle—with soldiers and munitions of war, were despatched to Manhattan. Another, the *Koninck Salomon*—King Solomon—was prepared for the voyage, but, as it might not arrive until the next spring, Stuyvesant was authorized to charter other vessels and to attack speedily "and before the Swedes were reinforced."

Yet the great war was not to begin so promptly. When these instructions reached New Amsterdam Stuyvesant was away on a vacation in the Barbadoes. The belligerent Lords Directors were greatly disappointed. This delay "quite startled" them—a nervous lot, those supposedly phlegmatic Dutchmen. It gave them "very little satisfaction," but in no way cooled their

martial ardor, nor abated their zeal. Another ship, the *Waegh* —Scales—was chartered, one of the "largest and best ships" belonging to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, "armed with 36 pieces," and with two hundred soldiers on board, under Capt. Frederick de Conninck she sailed to reinforce Stuyvesant. She carried orders to him "to undertake immediately and as quick as possible, but with caution, this expedition, and to carry it out with courage." There must be "no delay and no sluggishness," lest the twenty-five or thirty Swedish soldiers on the river be reinforced to perhaps double their number and thus become invincible. And having thus provided their general with an army and navy and sounded the charge, the Lords Directors at the Grand Headquarters smoked their pipes and awaited news from the front.

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On the arrival of the *Waegh* on August third General Stuyvesant called a council of war and proclaimed a day of prayer and fasting to invoke "God's special blessing, help and guidance" in the prospective slaughter of the Swedes. A call for volunteers promised them "a reasonable salary and board-money" and "a proper reward," if they chanced "to lose a limb or be maimed." Ships in the harbor were pressed into service, and on September fifth the Dutch armada set sail from New Amsterdam. The *Waegh* was the flagship. The others were a French privateer, *L'Esperance*, and four "yachts," *Hollanse Tuijn*, *Prinses Royael*, *Dolphijn* and *Abrams Offerhande* and the "flyboat" *Liefde*. These others carried four guns each.

The greatest secrecy had been enjoined upon everyone. Surprise was an essential element of the strategy of the campaign. Heaven only knew what those terrible Swedes might

do, if they heard of the war before the first shot was fired. But Rising was not to be deceived. When some Indians came to Christina and told him that the Dutch were about to attack the Swedes, his intelligence department immediately perceived that there was going to be a war.

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A council of war was convened by Rising. It was decided that Fort Trefaldighet must be defended, and to that end it was ordered repaired. The palisades of the fort had a very annoying fashion of falling down in times of peace when nobody thought it worth while to set them up again. "Muskets, swords, pikes, bullets" were taken there. With miraculous forethought gunpowder, a hundred and fifty pounds of it, practically all there was in the colony, was stored there, also "fourteen gallons of brandy, quantities of beer and other necessary things." It was decided to defend the fort to the last bottle of brandy or the last barrel of beer, whichever should longer survive the attack of the thirsty garrison.

CHAPTER XXXIII

OF THE TAKING OF TREFALDIGHET

ON SEPTEMBER sixth the alien prows of the Dutch Armada clove the peaceful waters of that bay, which, by every right to be derived from occupation of its shores and repeated purchases thereof from the Indians, was sacred to the Swedes. Off deserted Myggenborgh the fleet anchored and put ashore its living freight for rest, refreshment and reorganization. The army was drawn up on the shore, reviewed by the commander-in-chief and divided into five companies. Stuyvesant's Own was composed of ninety men. Captain Dirck Smidt led sixty. Fieldmarshal Nicasius de Sille had fifty-five, Major Frederick de Conninck, sixty-two. Lieut. Dirck Verstraten commanded fifty "seamen and pilots." The ships lay there that night and, all danger of premature discovery being past, their guns "shot and thundered" all night long.

Two days later they sailed up the River "amidst the beating of drums and blowing of trumpets and a great bravado" and passed within range of the fort's guns. Certain hotheads, Peter Lindeström and Lieut. Gyllengren among them, would have fired on the ships, but Capt. Sven Skute was unwilling to

sanction such rude measures. The invaders dropped anchor above Trefaldighet.

Immediately the troops disembarked, and fifty of them were posted on the south of Christina Kill to cut off communication between the two Swedish strongholds. Lieutenant Smidt with a drummer and a white flag now approached the fortress and summoned it to surrender. Lieutenant Gyllengren met him, and pointed out the unreasonableness of his request, "that these were impossible pretensions, and that such was not in our power to do," giving him fair warning that the Swedes would "defend and resist to the last."

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The persistent Dutchmen were not satisfied with this reply. The next day they repeated their demand. Peter Lindeström now tried his powers of persuasion. He met the emissary, a lieutenant colonel, and a not unfriendly colloquy ensued.

"Good morning, brother," said the lieutenant colonel. "Have you slept sufficiently?"

"Well, it is time for that," answered the Swede. Which seems a sufficiently cryptic reply.

"Well, brother," said the lieutenant colonel, "I come now indeed on the same business, which one of our officers presented to you yesterday, on behalf of our General and Governor, that if you now wish to give up the fort in peace, no harm shall happen to you, but you shall enjoy besides the good condition to be allowed to march out with flying banners, full arms, bullet in your mouth and more similar things."

But Lindeström was not to be seduced by the prospect of a bullet in his mouth and other similar things, whatever they were. He asked what the Swedes had done to deserve this kind of treatment.

"Is that so strange to you, brother," responded the envoy, "that you do not know that we have a goose unpicked with you, in that you last year, when you arrived here, drove away and chased off our nations from this fort, which was then called Fort Casimir, and all our colonists living around there? Therefore we have now come again here to revenge the same, and not only to drive you out of this fort, but your whole nation, which is found here in the country, for a recompense and a memorial."

Lindeström then, with admirable patience, sought to convince the Dutchman that the Swedish rights in the River were paramount to all others, but this military man had no time for such lawyers' talk and cut him off with a final demand for surrender "without any further dillydally," coupled with a threat to storm the fort and "not spare the child in the cradle."

"We will not surrender," replied the gallant Swede, "to the last man, or as long as there is a warm drop of blood in us," and bade him goodbye.

But the lieutenant colonel seemed loath to leave his Swedish brother. He swore by "God's fifteen"—whatever that quaint and curious oath may mean—that he hadn't had a drink all that day, and he dared Lindeström to prove to him that there was any brandy in the fort. "I believe you are so poor, you poor wretches, although you brag so greatly and make big spikes out of little iron," said he.

Soldier though he was, Lindeström had a heart. The man's piteous plight touched him, also his taunting tongue stung the Swede's pride. The thirsty Dutchman was led blindfolded into the fort, where at once his need was satisfied and the honor of the Swedes was upheld by libations so copious that the envoy departed in high good humor, though with uncertain footsteps,

crying "Farewell, brave engineer, have thanks for good treatment."

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But even such courteous hospitality to his emissaries failed to mollify Stuyvesant. He had hardened his heart against the Swedes, and the war must go on. He landed his artillery and prepared for a siege. Up to this time no shot had been fired by either army.

Even after the landing of the Dutch troops there were no immediate hostile acts. The campaign was still in its preliminary stages of negotiation. Embassies came and went between the fortress and its besiegers, the lieutenant colonel again, then the Swedish armorer, Kämpe. Skute himself faced Stuyvesant, asking for leave to consult Rising, which was refused. Kämpe went again, and secured a delay until the next morning. It seemed that they might talk it out on this line, if it took all summer.

But on the morrow Skute had his final conference with the Dutch general on the *Waegh*, and was at last convinced that Stuyvesant wanted his old fort back again, and wouldn't be happy till he got it. Skute surrendered.

The terms of capitulation saved for the New Sweden Company and the Swedish crown all goods, arms and munitions belonging to them, returned to the Dutch Company all its similar material and accorded the garrison the honors of war.

Seventy-five Dutch soldiers followed Skute back to the fort, "came marching," says Lindeström, "and our commandant going foremost in front of them all, dragging the enemy on his neck after himself to the fort."

Lindeström and Gyllengren were disgusted by the craven submission of their captain without even an attempt at defense,

and even then proposed to the garrison to fight. But the soldiery had no stomach for such folly. "They made themselves rebellious and jumped over the walls to the enemy." So there was nothing to do but "give up and let the enemy in."

The Swedish flag came down and was carried out of the fort by Skute at the head of a bodyguard of twelve men "with burning fuses, loaded guns, beating drums and pipes and bullet in mouth and such things." The rest wore merely their side-arms. The Dutch flag was hoisted and the "Holland salute" was given by the fort's guns. It was "answered in the camp and on the ships. Thereupon the whole battery was discharged upon Fort Trefaldighet and the outer ramparts. This was again answered by all the cannon in the camp and on the ships." Thus quite a lot of powder was burnt with no injury to anyone, and Fort Trefaldighet became again Fort Casimir.

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General Stuyvesant met the retiring army and inquired of Captain Skute where he was going with all those soldiers. "To Director Rising, at Fort Christina, according to the terms of our contract," answered the captain. To which the General replied, "Then you have not looked clearly at the words. I have indeed promised you to march out of the Fort . . . but you will not find it stated in the agreement whither. Wherefore, remain here, where I want you." And so it was. Although the *locus a quo*, the fort, was plainly written therein, there was no mention of the *terminus ad quem*. The Swedish army was all dressed up, bullets in mouths and everything, with no place to go. Poor Skute, vastly chagrined, "ashamed of his agreement," stood there helpless before the triumphant and very astute Stuyvesant, right out in the open between the two armies, "all smiling and, in addition, making fun of him."

To the ships went the common soldiers. Back to the fort, so flamboyantly evacuated a few minutes before, deprived of their arms, guarded each by two Dutch musketeers, sad, inglorious prisoners of war, marched the Swedish officers.

Magnanimous in the hour of his triumph, General Stuyvesant dined them that evening at his own table, "very splendidly and well," but behind each of them stood "two musketeers with their guns and burning fuses," Damoclean swords to remind them of their parlous condition.

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Lindeström lays the blame for the surrender entirely on the shoulders of Skute, whom he constantly ridicules. "During the siege," he says "our officers made fun of our commander, but after the siege was over not even a common soldier would drink out of the same cup with him, but [he] was considered by every man as a shoe-rag."

It however plainly appears even in Lindeström's narrative, that poor Skute was helpless. His handful of men in their "fort" of logs and earth had not a chance against Stuyvesant's warships, land artillery and hundreds of soldiers. Even the few men he had were mutinous, unwilling to fight, ready to desert. Some of them did scale the palisades and get away. Fifteen others were placed under arrest. The best that Skute could hope for, even after stubborn resistance and then only at the cost of blood, namely a retention of the property of the Company and the Crown and an honorable evacuation, he got. His failure to include in the articles a provision for the freedom of his men after surrender was the oversight of a slow-witted man faced by superior shrewdness. The surrender itself is no blot on his soldierly character.

CHAPTER XXXIV

OF THE CAPTURE OF CHRISTINA

URING the negotiations efforts had been made to get reinforcements from Christina. Two men were sent by night in a canoe asking for aid. Rising sent back encouraging messages and a promise of speedy succor, but when he despatched nine or ten freemen to the besieged fort, fifty or sixty Dutch soldiers caught them crossing the Kill. Only two escaped and got back to the fort, "the Dutch firing many shots after them, but without hitting." "Upon this," Rising reported "we fired upon the Dutch from the sconce, with a gun, whereupon they retired into the woods and afterwards treated harshly and cruelly such of our people as fell into their hands."

Preparing for the defense of Christina, Rising sent Hendrick van Elswyck to tell the up-river settlers that the time had come to show their fidelity to the Queen by defending "Her Majesty's fortresses." A small number of loyal freemen were collected and brought to Christina to strengthen its garrison.

When the news of the fall of Trefaldighet came to Rising, he sent van Elswyck down to Stuyvesant "to obtain an explanation of his intention and to dissuade him from further

hostilities." Elswyck came "in a friendly way," Stuyvesant subsequently reported, "using at first persuasive and friendly words, afterwards mingled with menaces, "'*hodie mihi, cras tibi.*'" Stuyvesant sent him back with the reply that he claimed the whole River, whereupon "we collected all the people we could," says Rising, "and labored with all our might, by night and day, on ramparts and gabions."

The next day the Dutch appeared in force on the south bank of the Kill. A Swedish shallop was seized, and a house occupied. Rising sent Lieut. Sven Höök with a drummer "to find out what they purposed, for what cause they posted themselves there, and for what we should hold them," that is, as friends or enemies. The answer would seem to have been sufficiently obvious, and all Rising got for his curiosity was the loss of the two men, whom the Dutch, although they appear to have allowed them to come as envoys in regular form, held as spies because the drummer had no drum.

Following this first approach came the whole naval and military force of the invaders, and now the garrison of Christina was regaled with a demonstration of the art of war as applied in sieges. A letter of Johannes Bogaert, clerk on the *Waegh*, to Hon. Mr. Schepen Bontemantel, Director of the West India Company at Amsterdam, tells the story of the investment.

The army disembarked and formed in three divisions. Capt. de Conninck's soldiers and Lieut. Verstraten's sailors took up a position on the south bank of the Kill and erected a battery of three guns. Fieldmarshal de Sille's company entrenched themselves about northwest of the fort, mounting two guns. General Stuyvesant filled the gap between the two, planting a battery of four guns, one an eighteen pounder, the largest

piece, north of the fort and about a hundred paces from its main entrance.

This description of Bogaert's does not agree with the other contemporary evidence, the plan of the siege drawn by Lindeström. In that are shown four main positions of the enemy, the first, with three "companies" and four guns, south of the Kill. The second a bit to westward with four "companies" and six guns. The third, Stuyvesant's, before the main gate, with six "companies" and six guns, and the fourth on Timber Island, with two "companies" and four guns. Lindeström also shows two ships, the *Waegh* and the "*Spegell*"—probably the *Dolphijn*—anchored in the stream at the mouth of Fiske Kill—the Brandywine. These differences may be accounted for by supposing the two descriptions to represent different stages of the siege. It lasted fourteen days, and the enemy strengthened its positions daily. Or it may be that Lindeström, wishing to show the folks at home how overwhelmingly were the odds against the defenders, added a few imaginary guns, a few men in buckram. At all events it may be safely said that never was fortress more completely invested.

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At last Rising was convinced that Stuyvesant's intentions were hostile. He rolled five barrels of beer into the fort and called a council of war.

A survey of their internal condition yielded only discouragement. The walls of the fort were as usual in poor condition. The soldiers were disheartened, even mutinous, some had deserted. Their best men had been sent to Trefaldighet where they had proved not so good after all. Nearly all their powder had gone down the River, too. There was in Christina enough for one round for each gun. The beer was the only cheering

thing in sight. The council resolved on a policy of masterly inactivity.

The Dutch, on the contrary, were incessantly active. They killed the settlers' cattle and swine, plundered their houses. They went up to Printzhof and carried off all its portable contents, much having been stored there by the people at Christina for safe-keeping. The Indians, now, by the arrival of a people stronger than their sworn blood-brothers, felt themselves absolved from their oaths of fidelity and entered heartily into this carnival of loot. It was not very amusing to the Swedes to look out over the northwest wall. The river view was much more pleasant.

"The enemy continued to carry on their approaches day and night," says Rising, "and, with our little force of about thirty men, we could make no sorties or prevent him from gaining positions from which he could command the sconce so completely that there was not a spot on the rampart where a man could stand in security."

After five days Rising made a move. He sent a deputation of three to argue with Stuyvesant, to refute his claims, to decline to surrender, to demand a withdrawal of the Dutch troops, to threaten Holland with a declaration of war by Sweden, to suggest a reference of all disputes to their respective home offices and, finally, to remind him that they were so closely related in religion that they ought to be friends, with a peroration to the effect that America was large enough for both. Certainly this was a daring move on Rising's part, which, if it had succeeded, would have been hailed as a stroke of genius.

But it did not succeed. Though van Elswyck labored with Stuyvesant in three hours of argument, demands, threats and appeals, the Dutchman was unshaken. He had his orders.

That was his only reply. The only thing for the Swedes to do now was to tap another barrel and hold another council of war.

After that there were more conferences between the opposing forces. Rising and Stuyvesant met in no-man's land and discussed the news of the day, but with no definite results. Every day Stuyvesant sent a new demand for surrender. On the tenth day of the siege he required submission before sunset of the next day, making "great threats." And still not a shot had been fired on either hand, though the Dutchmen had completed their work of devastation outside the fort by burning Christinahamn to the ground.

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On the twelfth day, after "a general council of the whole garrison" had voted unanimously in favor of it, Rising made his final desperate move. He surrendered everything. The same honorable terms as in the case of Trefaldighet were drawn up, but a stipulation as to the Swedes' subsequent liberty was not this time overlooked. They were to be permitted to leave the country without hindrance, and to have free passage to Gothenburg if they wished. A year and a half was allowed them to dispose of their property. Those who preferred could remain on the River subject to the Dutch and were to enjoy religious liberty, "the privilege of the Augsburg Confession."

There was another and a secret article under which Rising and van Elswyck should be landed either in England or France and Rising was to have "advanced" to him the sum of "three hundred pounds Flanders."

In "a large and beautiful tent" erected between Christina and the Stuyvesant's own battery, the two commanders and their staffs met, and there, with pomp and panoply, circumstance and dignity befitting the occasion, hands were set and

seals affixed to the articles of surrender. "All the cannon were discharged in the camp, on Fort Christina and the ships." The garrison, "about thirty men," marched out of the fort with the usual ceremony. The Dutch flag was hoisted over it and the great war was over. And what an exemplary conflict it had been and how worthy of emulation, for not a drop of blood had been spilt, except those lost by a Swedish deserter from Trefaldighet, who, while climbing over the palisades, was shot in the leg by one of his fellows.

The curtain had fallen on the last act of the war, but there was yet to be played a curious comic afterpiece.

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On the next day in the morning "General Stijfvesandt," as Lindeström writes his name, "came stilting on his wooden leg to us"—the Swedish officers still quartered in Christina—and made a most unexpected proposal. It was nothing less than an offer to hand the just-captured fort back to the Swedes, to make an offensive and defensive league with them, the Dutch to be left undisturbed at Casimir, the Swedes to hold all the River northward from Christina, and all his acts of aggression to be "forgotten and forgiven" because "the country was large enough for them both."

Rising was astonished and he was suspicious of these Greeks bearing gifts. He took the matter under advisement and on the following day answered that, by unanimous vote of his council, the offer was declined. A truly extraordinary proposal it was and fully as strange seems the reply, yet there were good reasons for both.

The Indians on the North River were off the reservation. Hardly had Stuyvesant's fleet sailed from Manhattan when "many armed savages" descended upon the town, entered

houses, stole what they could find, shot a man here and tomahawked another there. They were driven back, but they fell upon Pavonia and Hoboken, killing and burning. Within a day or two after the surrender of Trefaldighet Stuyvesant had received a letter from the Council of New Amsterdam asking him to reflect whether his force might not be more needed at home than "to subdue those places." "It seems to us," they wrote, "better to protect one's own house than to gain one at a distance and lose the old property." Again they had written urging him to make terms with Rising and "to come here by first opportunity with the ships and troops to preserve what is left . . . for we and the citizens must all stand [guard] and are harassed day and night with expeditions, watches, rounds, and helping to save the cattle and corn."

He knew that he and most of his forces must speedily return to Manhattan. If he left but weak garrisons at Casimir and Christina, might not the Swedes rise against them and recover all they had lost? Better it would be to ensure half the fruits of his victory than lose all. Hence his offer to return Christina to the Swedes.

The reasons for Rising's refusal of his offer were given in a report to the Company. Rising and his men had, they thought, no authority to make an alliance with the Dutch nor to waive the rights of the Swedish Crown to claim damages for these injuries. Also, with so much of their cattle killed and so many plantations laid waste, the colony could no longer support itself, and, finally, it would be a disgraceful thing to re-occupy a fort which they had been unable to defend.

Sufficient or not, these reasons prevailed. The goods in the fort belonging to the Company and to the Crown were in-

ventoried and stored away. The settlers who were to remain swore allegiance to the Dutch and returned to their farms. The others, with Rising, his officers and soldiers, embarked in the ships and on October eleventh 1655 the fleet set sail. So ended New Sweden.

CHAPTER XXXV

OF THE LAST OF THE SWEDISH GOVERNORS

JOHAN CLASSON RISING is entitled to the distinction of being the Last of the Governors of New Sweden, and it has been the fashion to say that he achieved this eminence by his own fault, his "misdirected zeal." The blame for the downfall of the Swedes on the Delaware has been laid on his shoulders because, contrary to his formal instructions to secure the river for the Swedes "without hostility," he took Fort Casimir by force. His forcible taking of Casimir undoubtedly fired the train that caused the final explosion which blew New Sweden off the map. If he had let the Dutch alone in Casimir, they would almost certainly have let him hold Christina and the River up to Sankikan. So much is true, but it remains to be considered whether he is justly censurable for going beyond his formal instructions.

In judging him, the most important historian of the colony, when he lays the blame for New Sweden's debacle on Rising's "misdirected zeal" in taking Casimir, fails to mention that Axel Oxenstierna was not averse to the use of force to rid the River of the Dutch, that Rising knew this and, moreover, that Rising had a letter from Eric Oxenstierna telling him that

this was "an opportunity for action, which it would be culpable to neglect." Was he not then justified in believing that those "formal instructions," so peaceful in language and in apparent intent, were really meant for the public's consumption, as a means of saving face for Sweden, if he tried to make a forcible entry and failed, or, succeeding, any untoward consequences ensued? Was he not fairly entitled to understand that "action" was what his employers really wanted and that his orders really were, "Go get the goods, peaceably, if you can, but—go get the goods!" Such secret glosses upon open instructions are not unknown in diplomacy, and one may well acquit Rising of any fault in carrying out what appeared to be the real intention of his overlords.

Rising was an educated man, a product of the gymnasium at Linköping and the University of Upsala. He had travelled extensively on the European continent and spent some time as a student at Leyden, a stipendiary of the Swedish government studying commerce and trade. He was the first secretary of the College of Commerce, which office he resigned when he was sent to New Sweden. After his return to Sweden in 1655 he held other offices. He planned and partly wrote an elaborate *Treatise on Commerce*; an abstract of it was published in 1671, the first work on trade and economics published in Sweden. It has been said of him by a Swedish historian that he was far ahead of his time and that many of the reforms in the principles of trade that he proposed have been since accomplished. He was the founder of the doctrine of free trade in Sweden. His "Relations" and "Journals" of his life and work in America are valuable sources of the history of New Sweden.

As an administrator he seems to have been effective, though his rule on the Delaware was too short to allow for large

achievement. Judging by what he did in the sixteen months of his stay it is reasonable to suppose that he would have been a successful governor.

In attempting to estimate his character as an honest straightforward official, one is confronted by uncomfortable suspicions about the "secret article" in the terms of capitulation, whereby Stuyvesant agreed to land Rising either in England or France instead of sending him directly back to Gothenburg and to "advance" him personally three hundred pounds Flanders currency. For the repayment of this "advance," Rising pledged the property of the Swedish Crown and of the Company. Why was this article secret? It was undoubtedly secret. Although Rising protested that it was made with the knowledge of his people and signed "in their presence on the place of parol," there can be little doubt that its contents were undisclosed. The publicity of the signing is of no importance at all. Why did Rising want to be set down in England or France instead of Sweden? What right had he to pledge public property for a private debt? On what ground did the whole transaction stand? These are troublesome questions. The whole affair has the aspect of bribery, and, when it appears that the "advance" was never repaid and Stuyvesant had to sell this public property to recover the "advance," one's suspicions are redoubled.

In Rising's defense it may be urged that he had received no salary for his services in America and that the Company owed him money besides, and that in fact he never was able to collect his dues. Against this is the claim of the Company that he was actually in its debt to the amount of several thousand dalers. On the whole the best one can do for Rising's character, in this respect, is not too good. The affair of the secret "advance" has too many questionable aspects.

One may however pity the man's subsequent misfortune. He was without steady gainful employment for the last twelve years of his life. Much of the time he lived in the most miserable way with barely enough food and clothing to keep him alive and warm. He was always in debt and in danger of imprisonment, saved from it only by charity. Through all this time his one ambition was to complete his great Treatise and, though it was often too cold in his wretched quarters to permit him to write, and even in summer he was too poor to buy books or even paper and ink, he struggled to complete it. At the age of fifty-five the last of the Governors of New Sweden died in a miserable hovel, entirely destitute.

CHAPTER XXXVI

OF LOG CABINS AND WOODEN SPOONS

HE population of New Sweden, that is to say its permanent population, exclusive of such temporary visitors as officials and clergymen, was almost without exception of the peasant class. They were crude, rude, strong, hardy tillers of the soil, physically well fitted to withstand the hardships of the voyage and to endure the toil of subduing a wilderness and creating for themselves a comfortable environment. Penn describes those who were here when he came, as "a plain strong industrious people . . . proper and strong of body, so that they have fine children and almost every house full. . . . I see few young men more sober and industrious."

The first houses built by them were log cabins of one room that served all the uses of the household. They had no glass, the windows being merely small openings closed against the weather by slide-boards. The fire was built on the earthen floor, and the smoke found its way out through an opening in the roof. A heap of straw on the floor served for a bed, a sheepskin for covering. A crude table built against the wall and sections of logs for stools completed the furnishings of these primitive dwellings.

As they increased in substance the settlers were able to house themselves more comfortably. The later-built houses were somewhat larger, divided into two or three rooms, with a loft above which served as a storehouse and an additional bedroom or guest chamber. A few were two stories in height. Chimneys carried off the smoke from fireplaces of brick or stone, with ovens built into them. Some had one or more glazed windows. An extension of the roof sloped down to cover a front stoop.

Their furnishings too were elaborated. Bunks were constructed to hold straw mattresses. Chairs were made out of hollow tree-trunks, a part of the shell projecting above the seat and forming a back. Movable tables, benches, chests and other such simply contrived pieces were added.

The most elaborate private residence was Printzhof on Tinicum Island, "very splendid and well built, with a pleasure garden, summer-house and other such things," says Lindeström. It was not built of brick, as has been erroneously stated however. There were not more than ten thousand bricks imported during the whole life of New Sweden, and there were none made there. No such house could be built of ten thousand bricks. Those that were brought were used in fireplaces and chimneys. Printzhof was undoubtedly a wooden structure, probably of hewn timbers. It was two stories high, with several rooms, and sawed boards, brought on the *Fama*, were used for floors, doors and other interior finish. Its windows were of glass.

On Timber Island near the mouth of Fiske Kill—Brandywine—Rising built him a house, "with two stories and a dwelling as well as a cellar below it," a description that seems to need an explanatory diagram. It probably rivaled Printz's.

There were other buildings, such as barns, stables and

storehouses, all built of logs, and there were bath-houses, bathing their bodies being a habit among both Swedes and Finns, a habit that made them a peculiar people among their European contemporaries. Moreover, the method of their ablutions called for a display of hardihood, not to say heroism.

Their bath-houses were small windowless cabins with fireplaces, in which very hot fires induced a temperature of 150° Fahrenheit. Water poured on heated stones filled the air with steam. In this genial atmosphere it was customary for family groups with invited friends to remain stark naked for half an hour—really conscientious performers made it a full hour—beating their bare flesh the while with besoms of twigs. Then emerging lobster-red, in an outside temperature perhaps near zero, if it were winter, they rolled themselves in snow, or in summer plunged into a cold stream. A Swedish bath was at once a hygienic exercise, a social function and a valorous deed.

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The household utensils, plates, cups, spoons, bowls and that sort of thing, were mostly of wood, but iron and tin pots, cups of tin and horn, some crockery-ware and iron knives were imported. Forks for eating were unknown.

For lighting at night tallow candles were used, also splints of resinous pine about three feet long were stuck into crevices between the logs or into iron "stick-holders" and ignited. Such a splint would burn for several minutes and yield about equal amounts of smoke and flame.

Their dress was chiefly of coarse woollen cloth, their shirts of linen, their stockings of felt, wool or linen, according to the season and the purse of the wearer. Their shoes were of coarse leather, of leather with wooden soles or entirely of wood, like the French *sabots*. Leather shoes were often home-made, a

sort of cross between a shoe and a moccasin. Leather, either tanned or cured in Indian fashion, was easier to procure and more durable to wear than woollen cloth, so coats made of leather, buckskin or otter skins, and elk-skin breeches were later commonly worn.

Coming from a country where manufacturing was in its infancy, the settlers were used to relying on their own hands and heads to supply their needs. They were, therefore, generally skilled in all kinds of manual arts. The men made their own wooden plows and harrows, rakes and hayforks, their furniture and kitchen equipment, and indeed, practically every implement used on the farm and in the house. The women wove, knitted and sewed and did every sort of household chore. They were a self-reliant, self-sufficient lot of people.

For meat they had venison and fish in plenty, pork from their imported swine that ran wild and prospered in the forests, and beef in increasing quantity as their first few cattle grew in numbers. There were also wild turkeys and other game birds in profusion. They soon learned to use maize and came largely to rely on it for bread baked in Indian style in the ashes. Their vegetables were peas, beans and turnips. Beer was the customary everyday beverage, with brandy for social or festal occasions. From the abundance of wild grapes they made wine.

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During Rising's brief administration they began opening roads between the settlements, doubtless connecting Trefaldighet, Christina and Upland. Before that there were only paths for horsemen and footmen, impassable for wheeled vehicles. Travel by land was laborious and inconvenient. The best highways were the river and its affluent streams. Sailboats, rowboats and canoes made by hollowing logs, after the Indian

manner, were their means of transport. For this reason their settlements and plantations were strung along the waterside. The River, which now separates New Jersey from Delaware, then brought its east and west banks into convenient adjacency. It was far easier to sail across it than to travel an equal distance on land.

These Swedish settlers lived hard lives, but they had been used to conditions hardly less difficult in their own country. Indeed, once they had cleared their land of its forest growth, the fertility of this new soil and the friendliness of this new climate made life for them vastly easier than it had been in Sweden.

Ignorant, very largely entirely illiterate, they had no mental need that the society of their own kind could not supply. The amenities of life in more sophisticated communities they did not know and therefore did not desire. When their physical needs were satisfied they were content. To work on their farms six days and to spend most of the seventh listening to sermons and singing hymns, that rounded out the simple programme of a satisfying week. They were, in short, stuff most suitable for pioneering in a wilderness, and most of them soon took root and throve and prospered.

CHAPTER XXXVII

OF PREACHING AND PREACHERS

HEIR religion was a matter of the most vital importance to these people, as it was to all European peoples of that time. The voice of Martin Luther had been stilled by death nearly a century before the first Swedes came to the Delaware, but the thunder of his hammer-blows, nailing the ninety-five theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg, still echoed through all Europe. John Calvin had lain in his grave at Geneva for seventy years, but his Institutes of the Christian Religion were yet altogether alive. The Thirty Years War between the Catholics and Protestants had concerned many nations and no nation more than that whose king had stayed the onrush of the power of Rome and had fallen on the field of battle. Religion was for them the most important thing in life. Variations and divergences from the belief prevailing in any given community, such as in minor matters would have been thought non-essential, even trifling, were regarded as extremely important. When you call a religious opinion a "heresy" and feel thereby justified in burning its professor at the stake, you have made it a serious matter.

The Swedes were Protestants, moreover they were Lutherans

"according to the Augsburg Confession," and they were watchful of any intrusion of Calvinistic adulteration into their one and only true religion. The Dutch were Protestants, too, but not Lutherans. Their one and only true faith was Calvinistic. To each the other was heretic, though somewhat less certainly hell-bent than the Roman Catholics, whom both Swedes and Dutch firmly believed to be damned beyond possibility of pardon. No stakes were planted, however, no faggots piled, in the market place of Christinahamn after the Conquest. It was stipulated in the terms of Rising's surrender and agreed by Stuyvesant that the Swedes, who remained on the Delaware should continue to "enjoy the privilege of the Augsburg Confession and a person to instruct them therein."

Soon after the arrival of Director Hollandaer in 1640 a little church was built at Fort Christina, in which Rev. Reorus Torkillus, the first of the Swedish clergymen, held services until his death in 1643. Rev. Israel Fluviander had come with Printz earlier in that year and was stationed first at Fort Elfsborg. After the death of Torkillus, Fluviander was transferred to Christina where he remained until his return to Sweden in 1647.

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The best known of the Swedish clerics of this period was Rev. Johan Campanius, surnamed Holm from his birthplace, Stockholm, who also came with Printz. He had a house at Upland, and at New Gothenburg "a handsome wooden church" was built for him in 1646. He was a man of education and character and was the first of these clergymen to take seriously the intention first expressed in the prospectus of the first Swedish General Trading Company more than twenty years before and repeated in subsequent charters and orders, the

intention of spreading the Gospel among the natives, "heretofore living in abominable heathenish idolatry and all manner of ungodliness." "He was very zealous in learning the nature of the country and the language of its heathen inhabitants," says Rev. Israel Acrelius. "During all this time he had constant intercourse with the wild people." He compiled a vocabulary of the language of the Indians on the river and translated Luther's Shorter Catechism into their tongue.

"The Indians were frequent visitors at my grandfather's house," says Thomas Campanius Holm. "When, for the first time, he performed divine service in the Swedish congregation, they came to hear him, and greatly wondered that he had so much to say, and that he stood alone, and talked so long, while all the rest were listening in silence." Evidently they could conceive of no reasonable excuse for such a powwow but that it was a council of war, and that this white medicine man was making bad medicine for his red brothers. "They thought everything was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us; in consequence of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were, for some time, in considerable danger."

They questioned Campanius, and he undertook to teach them the principal doctrines of the Christian theology, the belief in One God, the Mystery of the Trinity, the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Immaculate Conception and the Mission of Christ, the Redemption, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. "They had great pleasure in hearing these things at which they greatly wondered . . . he succeeded so far that many of those barbarians were converted to the Christian faith, or, at least, acquired so much knowledge of it that they were

ready to exclaim, as Capt. John Smith relates of the Virginia Indians, that so far as the cannons and guns of the Christians exceeded the bows and arrows of the Indians, so far was their God superior to that of the Indians." But it does not appear that, in spite of their admiration and wonder, they left off paying their devoirs to their own Manetto.

Campanius returned to Sweden in 1648. He was succeeded at Upland by Rev. Matthias Nertunius, who had first attempted the voyage in the doomed *Katt* and was among the few survivors who regained their native land. His courage and persistence are proven by his setting out again with Rising in the *Örn*. His stay was short, he went home with Rising in 1655. He was generally esteemed the best preacher of this group.

With him in the *Örn* was Rev. Peter Hjort, whose charge was at Fort Trefaldighet after its capture from the Dutch. Rising esteemed him "both materially and spiritually a poor priest." When the fort was retaken his presence in the colony was undesired by its Dutch captors. One heretical Lutheran preacher was all they thought allowable and he was sent home.

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The one clergyman permitted to remain to instruct the Swedes in their heterodoxy, after the Swedish power was broken by the Dutch, was an extraordinary person. His name, as acquired from and given him by his parents, was Lars Karlsson Lock. But it was a custom of the time for learned men to Latinize or Hellenize their names, and, as the German theologian, Schwarzerd, had changed his name to Melanchthon, so this gentleman called himself by the mellifluous title of Laurentius Carolus Lockenius.

He is conspicuous in the roll of these Swedish divines for several reasons. He was longest in service in the colony, coming

on the *Swan* in 1648 and remaining until his death in 1688. But this mere length of service is the least of the distinctions of Rev. Laurentius. His colleagues were modest moderate men, each content to let his little candle throw its beams of doctrine into the darkness of a naughty world. His luminary was a flaming torch that blazed with strange fires.

Rising charged him with mutiny for his part in the petition to Printz in 1653 for redress of grievances, and brought him and Olof Stille into court as ringleaders, but failed to find sufficient evidence to hold him. He had enough, however, to feel justified in sending him back to Sweden, there "to defend and free himself." Then he relented, because of Lock's illness, and let the matter drop.

One can hardly blame Lock for joining in that mild revolt. Although Anders Jönsson was hanged for his share in it, it seems to have been a rather praiseworthy proceeding, such as should entitle its participants to commendation for their sturdy resistance to the tyranny of Printz. But the reverend gentleman's part in it must have been rather conspicuous for him to have been chosen as one of two most responsible for it. One's conviction that he was a turbulent spirit would be confirmed by this circumstance, even if further evidence were lacking.

He and his friend Stille got in trouble again a few years later when Willem Beeckman, Dutch Vice-Director at Christina, summoned Lock to trial in his court because he had married "a couple of young people" in Stille's presence, "without proclamation in church and against the will of their parents," Stille "allowing" him to do it. Stille protested that this was an ecclesiastical matter, cognizable not by the secular courts, but only by the Consistory of Sweden. Nevertheless

Beeckman fined Lock fifty guilders, and in his report to Stuyvesant referred to Lock's having been "fearfully beaten and marked about the face" by one Peter Mayer a few months before, yet, when cited as a witness at Mayer's trial, he answered "that he had nothing to do with the Court of Christina" and declined to appear, arranging a settlement with Mayer out of court. Wherefore Beeckman suspected Lock of disloyal opinions.

He had already come into notoriety for conduct hardly suitable to his profession. Rev. Johannes Megapolensis and Rev. Samuel Drisius reporting to the Classis of Amsterdam on the state of the church on the South River in 1657, wrote: "This Lutheran preacher is a man of impious and scandalous habits, a wild drunken unmannerly clown, more inclined to look into the wine-can than into the Bible. He would prefer drinking brandy two hours to preaching one; and when the sap is in the wood his hands itch and he wants to fight whomsoever he meets.

"The Commandant at Fort Casimir, Jean Paulus Jacquet . . . told us that during last Spring this preacher was tippling with a smith, and while yet over their brandy they came to fisticuffs, and beat each other's heads black and blue; yea, that the smith tore all the clothing from the preacher's body, so that this godly minister escaped in primitive nakedness, and, although so poorly clothed, yet sought quarrels with others."

An extraordinary performance for a clergyman, indeed, but perhaps, from the church's point of view, not so scandalous as his exploit a few years later.

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In 1661 Pastor Lockenius's wife, having, one supposes, endured his society as long as an imperfect human being might be expected to endure it, eloped with one Jacob Jongh, "a depraved character," Rev. Israel Acrelius calls him. Possibly, however, he was merely something of a knight errant, a rescuer of distressed females. However that may be, they fled in a canoe to Maryland. Dominie Laers, as the Dutch called him, missing his wife went on the warpath with an axe, crashed his way into Jacob's room in the house of "Andries Andriesen, the Fin," hoping to discover his defaulting lady. Therein he found only a chest belonging to Jongh, which with his axe he opened, but the wicked couple were not in it. Nothing was in it but "some pairs of socks, which the vagabond robber of my wife had left behind," he complained. This was late in September.

Rev. Laurentius was not long in consoling himself. Within three weeks he applied to Vice-Director Beeckman for permission to marry again. "He wanted to have the first proclamation [of banns] with a girl of 17 or 18 years made on the 16th," Beeckman reported to Stuyvesant.

The Vice-Director found some difficulty in complying. After all an elopement is only an elopement, not a divorce. Beeckman did all that was possible. He gave Lock a decree of divorce, not a divorce absolute but a sort of decree *nisi*, subject to confirmation by Governor Stuyvesant after a certain elapsed time. But Laurentius was an impatient lover. Within the prescribed period of waiting he married the girl, performing the ceremony himself.

Now there was a pretty ecclesiastical question. Could not a clergyman, who could marry others, also marry himself? Or could he? As an authority on the canon law of the Lutherans, Rev. Laurentius held that he could, but unfortunately the

rules of the Dutch Reformed Church, as interpreted by Judge Beeckman, were to the contrary. Even Lock's old friend and playmate, Olof Stille, who sat with Beeckman in Lock's trial for the double offense of breaking and marrying, held against him. For his axe-work, which was held to be a usurpation and a despite of the court's authority, he was condemned to pay the missing Jongh's debt to the Company of two hundred guilders in beavers, also Jongh's debt to Beeckman and another of forty guilders and "a fine of forty guilders for his impudence." On top of that his marriage was declared illegal and on top of that he was unfrocked. One feels that the Rev. Laurentius got not only quite all he deserved, but a little extra, and is glad to know that later his divorce was made absolute, he was allowed to marry the girl and was restored to his pulpit.

The somewhat drastic indictment of Rev. Laurentius by Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, as quoted above, may have been colored by the *odium theologicum* animating their breasts as Calvinists judging a Lutheran clergyman, but the milder opinion of Rev. Henricus Selyns to the effect that Lock "did not lead a Christian life," seems certainly beyond cavil. If one wonders why he held his charge and apparently satisfied his congregation for nearly forty years, the probable answer is that he was a powerful preacher.

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The Swedes took their religion seriously and sustained a burden of ministration that required manful endurance. The regular order of High Mass began with the singing of a psalm. Then the minister kneeling before the high altar confessed his sins. After that he gave a "short admonition to his flock" and read the general confession of sins, followed by a prayer. Responsive readings, a psalm, more responsive readings and the

epistle for the day led up to another psalm sung by the congregation and then the reading of the Apostles' Creed. Another psalm prefaced the sermon, and another the Holy Communion. Then another psalm, the Nicene Creed, a hymn and the benediction. This programme filled about four hours each Sunday morning.

The law required three services, morning, afternoon and evening every Sunday in cities, but only one in the country. Whether its rigor was applied in such settlements as that on Tinicum Island, regarded as a city, is not known, but, if not, there was yet no lack of opportunities for worship.

On the principal holidays, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, services were held at four in the morning, ending about eight. These were followed by High Mass, as hereinbefore outlined, and this by an afternoon service. Besides these, services were held on three other days before and after Christmas and Pentecost and for a whole week at Easter.

The minor holidays, New Year, Epiphany, Candlemas Day, the day of Annunciation, Good Friday, Ascension Day, the Visitation of Our Lady, St. Michael's Day, the day of All Saints and two or three solemn prayer days, were celebrated by church services, all the people refraining from work. The twelve Days of the Apostles, Holy Thursday and certain *Gangdagar* (Travelling Days), on which during their work the people "went about and read prayers," had their special observances, but only one sermon was preached on these days, after which they might work.

And that was not all. Every Wednesday and Friday there were sermons and on all other week days morning and evening prayers and psalm singing.

Allowing only one sermon for each Sunday and the allotted

number for each of the other holy days, it will be seen that a minister in New Sweden was called on to preach about two hundred and twenty sermons per annum, or, if he preached three times on Sunday, three hundred and twenty-four sermons, besides officiating at the daily prayer services. One is not surprised to find the Rev. Johan Campanius, after nearly five years of such ministration, praying for a recall, because he could not longer endure "the hard labor here." And perhaps a reasonable excuse can be found for the action of Rev. Matthias Nertunius, who, when in September 1654 an additional day of "prayer and fasting with services" was proclaimed in the colony, called the whole thing off, for which deed of desperation he was censured by the Council.

BOOK THREE: THE DUTCH AGAIN

CHAPTER XXXVIII

OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE SWEDES AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE DUTCH

DURING most of the quarter of a century beginning with their first attempt at Zwaanendael, the Dutch had continued to keep a more or less precarious toehold on the River here and there, as at Nassau and Beversreede, even for a short time an apparently secure foothold at Casimir, but their posts and forts had always been threatened, if not actually taken from them, by the Swedes. Never had they been in control. Fort Casimir by its position had seemed the dominating factor in the life and commerce on the River, but the ease with which Rising took it proved its insecurity. Now for the first time the blue, white and orange banner of the States-General could be flown without challenge from any masthead between the Capes and the falls at Sankikan. The Dutch ruled the Delaware.

This fact having been accomplished by the capture of Casimir and Christina, Stuyvesant was faced by two pressing duties. He had to remove the dangerous elements of the

Swedish population, the officers and soldiers, from the conquered territory, and he had to get back to Manhattan as soon as possible.

Ten days before the fall of Christina the long-restrained fury of the Indians had burst upon the Dutch on the North River. A hundred colonists had been killed, a hundred and fifty captured. The homes and farmsteads of three hundred had been ravaged and burned. The fort and the town of New Amsterdam were crowded with terror-stricken fugitives. Stuyvesant was needed to still the tumult and quell the panic. He hurried home.

Rising and his men lingered long enough to court-martial Sven Skute for surrendering Casimir without firing a shot. One would suppose that it must have been a little embarrassing to Rising to preside at such a trial. At all events Skute was able to present a statement signed by Lieut. Gyllengren, Constable Andersson and others exonerating him from all blame, and he was not convicted. Five days later the *Waegh* took on board the officers and soldiers and all the settlers who elected to go back to Sweden and carried them to New Amsterdam.

For three weeks the departing Swedes, thirty-seven of them, lingered in New York. Here Rising fought the last and most hotly contested battle of the Sueco-Dutch War. He opened with a volley of protests, accusations and complaints, charging Stuyvesant with violations of the articles of capitulation in leaving the surrendered public property unprotected and in failing to provide Rising and his suite with accommodations in New Amsterdam suitable to their station.

Stuyvesant replied by reminding him that he had offered to restore Christina to the Swedes, who could have protected

its contents if they had accepted the offer. As to the quality of lodgment afforded the Swedes, he submitted first, that he was not bound to lodge them at all; second, that they had "decent board" and lodging on that "most excellent ship," the *Waegh*; third, that he had offered Rising "the accomodations and table" of his own residence "and humble circumstances" and, on his refusing, had quartered him in "one of the most principal private houses of this City"; fourth, that Rising on landing had "in an intemperate manner" insulted Stuyvesant "by many threats of going to prosecute" him; fifth, that Rising had, "in a passionate manner," threatened to come back and "ravage and plunder this place," and had thus made the skippers of the ships so "circumspect and uneasy" that they were unwilling to land him in England or France "agreeable to the secret and separate capitulation made without the knowledge of your troops."

This last and most shrewd thrust, no doubt, struck home for Rising came back with a broadside. He charged the Dutch army with barbarity in plundering Tornaborg, Upland, Finland, Printzdorp and other places, "not to speak of the deeds done about Fort Christina, where the females have been partly dragged out of their houses by force, whole buildings torn down, even hauled away, oxen, cows, pigs and other animals daily slaughtered in large numbers; even the horses not spared but shot wantonly, the plantations devastated and everything thereabouts treated in such a way, that our victuals have been mostly spoiled, carried away, or lost somehow," and the people left "without means of defense, like sheep, to the wild barbarians." Then he denied that the "secret capitulation" was secret at all, but made with the knowledge of the

Swedes and "signed by your Honor in their presence," which last may be true enough, that is that it was openly signed, but that its contents were secret there can be little doubt.

Stuyvesant made no reply, and a few days later two ships, the *Beer*—Bear—and the *Bonte Coe*—Spotted Cow—sailed from New Amsterdam with orders to land Rising and Elswyck in either England or France and the rest of the soldiers at Gothenburg. Rising went ashore at Plymouth. At London he reported the fall of New Sweden to the Swedish ambassador, and there he received from a London merchant on Stuyvesant's order the three hundred pounds Flanders promised by the "secret article."

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The news of Stuyvesant's conquest was speedily transmitted to the States-General by their ambassador in London, and Their High Mightinesses were greatly perturbed thereby. It might be a very fine thing for the Dutch Company, this acquisition of new territory, but it had been taken from the Swedes and how was His Majesty Charles X going to take that? True, he was at this time deeply engaged in the war with Poland—at the very moment very busy indeed trying to force his way into the fortress-monastery of Czenstachowa—but these wars had a habit of coming to an end and giving the nations engaged in them a chance to look around for someone else to fight. Who could tell what such a warlord as Charles would do, once he got his hands free of their present business? With such a good excuse as this he might be found some bright morning hammering at the gates of Amsterdam. It was enough to worry anybody.

The States-General called on the Directors of the Dutch

Company for a justification of these warlike measures. The Gentlemen XIX responded with a report on the state of affairs on the South River so voluminous that one could not doubt the validity of its content, which dwelt upon "the unheard-of conduct of the Swedes in that quarter." The Directors were sorry they had been forced to harsh measures, but anyhow the thing was done and the country seized was rich and important, so it would probably turn out to be a profitable bit of piratical aggression. All that was needed now was a little help from the States-General in holding the stolen territory.

As a matter of fact, they needed a good deal of help and needed it badly. They had got into rather a tight place in their Brazilian enterprise. What with the aggressions of the Portuguese for the last fifteen years and the insurrection led by Vieyra for the last ten, the Company's affairs there had gone pretty completely to the dogs. Its capital and last stronghold in Brazil had been taken from it the year before. Its operations in Guinea, too, showed a balance on the wrong side of the ledger. Now it had to meet the rather considerable new expense of its army and navy on the South River. It was time to look about for some new financing.

But meantime this new addition to its assets was welcome even if burdened with an obligation, and the Directors wrote to Stuyvesant approving his actions in substance, though they would have preferred "that no such formal capitulation had been made," because "what is written and surrendered in copy can be preserved for a long time and appears sometimes at the most awkward moment, while, on the other side, the word or deed is lost from memory by the length of time, or

may be interpreted and smoothed over one way or the other, as the occasion seems to demand." So wily, so slim were the Gentlemen XIX.

So much for the effect of the news in Holland. To appreciate what it meant to Sweden, one must go back a bit.

CHAPTER XXXIX

OF DISMAY IN SWEDEN

IN APRIL 1654, soon after the sailing of the *Gyllene Haj*, Printz and Huygen arrived in Stockholm. Their reports showed the College of Commerce the needs of the colony. Bulstrode Whitelock, Cromwell's envoy, was then in Sweden, and in that very month a treaty of friendship and alliance between the two countries was signed. Among other agreements supplemental to this treaty was one intended to ensure amity and freedom of trade between their colonies in America. The College of Commerce had been looking about for means of extending the colony's commerce, and this treaty much encouraged its hopes of a more vigorous life for its so far rather feeble dependent. But until after Christina's abdication in July nothing could be done for New Sweden.

Charles X, who succeeded Queen Christina, was interested in Sweden's only colonial venture, and by the end of the year two forward steps had been taken. Negotiations had been begun to delimit the boundaries between New Sweden and Virginia and the monopoly of the Swedish tobacco trade had been given the Company. In the following year the Company was reorganized with additional capital, the government taking a

share and the heirs of Fleming and Spiring participating as well as Eric Oxenstierna. A new expedition was planned.

The ship selected, the *Mercurius*, was found to be in the usual leaky condition and had "to be built anew entirely." There was, however, no difficulty in securing colonists. Letters from those who had gone before and survived the voyage had inspired many with a desire to go to this new Eden, and fully two hundred were assembled at Gothenburg. Of these a hundred and ten were selected, practically all Finns. Johan Papegoja was made commander. Huygen went back as chief commissary. Hans Janeke was barber-surgeon, "Rev. Mathias" was clergyman and Rising's younger brother, Johan, also was on board. On November 10th, 1655 the *Mercurius* sailed for New Sweden. About two months later, while the ship was still on the high seas, came the shocking news to the Company that there was not any New Sweden any more, but only New Netherland.

What was to be done? Charles was too busily engaged in Poland to start another war with the Dutch. The Company had no armed forces fit to fight its own battles. Only paper weapons could be wielded by the civilians of the Company and the College of Commerce. Accordingly a protest and a demand for restitution and indemnity were despatched to the States-General, to which there was no reply, and nothing more was done for seven years.

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In 1663 the question was reopened by the Swedish government, again with no result. Two warships were fitted out and the rumor got abroad that they were going to the Delaware to restore the *status quo*. But they did not go. Then in 1664, when a number of Finnish families made their way across

Norway to Christiania and thence to Holland intent on emigration to the River, the Swedish government again took up the matter. It seemed worse than bad manners to steal a Swedish colony and then draw on Sweden for its population. An emissary was sent to investigate.

He found the Finns at Waterlandt near Amsterdam, "140 souls, old and young, many children, boys as well as girls, small and quite large, who ran about mostly naked in shirts." Sweden wanted them back, but the Dutch held them and sent them across. They must have reached the colony at nearly the same time as the English forces that took the River from the States-General, which was rather a joke on the Dutch.

This, however, resulted in a renewed demand for restitution. The States-General listened to it and referred it to the Directors of the West India Company. The Circumlocution Office was now functioning nicely. The matter was tossed back and forth like a tennis ball, and with no more real progress. Then came the English conquest of all New Netherland, and neither the States-General nor the College of XIX had anything left to restore to the Swedes. It did not seem reasonable to ask the English to hand over to the Swedes what they had taken from the Dutch, nevertheless efforts were made in that direction while the question was still kept alive at the Hague. The matter drilled along for several years, the English refusing and the Dutch doing nothing, until in 1677 in a commercial treaty between Sweden and Holland it was agreed that these claims should be examined and satisfaction given the injured party without delay. There has not been much delay, only about two hundred and fifty years of it. The question is still open.

CHAPTER XL

OF LAWS AND LAWSUITS

BEFORE Stuyvesant left the South River after the surrender of the forts, he transferred the seat of government of the whole district to Fort Casimir and made Captain Dirck Smidt temporary commander. The Swedes in that vicinity who wished to remain there as freemen were called upon to take the oath of allegiance "to the Noble High Mightinesses, the States-General of the United Netherlands and the Lords Proprietors of the Incorporated West India Company and their, the Masters' and Patroons' of this Province of New Netherland, Director-General and Council." Nineteen of them did so, four signing their names, the rest making their marks, from which particulars one may generalize as to their literacy.

Smidt did little more than hold his office, nor did he have a chance to do much for within three months his successor, Jean Paul Jacquet, the permanent Vice-Director and chief magistrate of the district, arrived at Casimir. With him came Andries Hudde as Secretary and *Schout-fiscal*, and Elmerhuysen Klein as Commissary. The Vice-Director was to have, in the absence of the Director-General, "supreme command over all officers, soldiers and freemen" on the River, and was

to govern the colony with a Council composed of himself, Hudde, Klein and "the two Sergeants," except that in all purely civil controversies "two of the most suitable freemen" should take the sergeants' places. He must keep good order and discipline and maintain Fort Casimir "in a becoming state of defense." He must keep the soldiers in the fort at night and keep the Swedes out of the fort always, "especially upon the arrival of strange ships, yachts and vessels." Stuyvesant was looking for Swedish reprisals.

In distributing land he was to form villages of sixteen to twenty persons or families and to lay out a town on the south side of the fort, "in lots 40 to 50 feet in width and one hundred feet length, the street to be at least 4 to 5 rods wide." He was to "look well after the Swedes" and "with all possible politeness" expel the disaffected, to treat the savages politely also, but savages as well as Swedes must be kept out of the fort at night. But, that "the natives may not in the meantime remain under the blue sky," he was to provide "a house of bark outside of the fort for those Indians, who are not great Sachems." He must not allow the sale of brandy or strong drinks to the savages, nor permit "the robbing of gardens or plantations, the running about in the country, drinking on the Sabbath or profanation of the same" by the colonists.

To provide revenue for the colony the land was to be subject to a tax of twelve stivers—twenty-four cents—a year for each *morgen*—two acres—and excises were imposed on brandy, wine and beer sold by innkeepers or consumed by those who drank "in company or at drinking-bouts," but not by those who laid it up "for home use."

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One of Jacquet's first public functions was a reception to several sachems who asked, "with great circumstantiality and ample volubility," that a scale of prices be fixed for their trade, "a piece of cloth for 2 deer and so forth." They said Smidt had promised them that prices should be raised. Jacquet declined to interfere with the law of supply and demand. He stood for free trade. Let everyone be at liberty "to act herein according to his pleasure" and "go where his purse enabled him and the goods pleased him." A sound economic policy, one would suppose, yet it did not work—to the satisfaction of the whites at least.

About a year later "the whole community assembled" to consider the serious state of affairs brought about by people going where their purses enabled them and paying what prices they pleased. Deerskins had advanced in price more than one-third and "most likely" would "run up higher still, to the great and excessive disadvantage of the poor community." The spring trade in beavers was about coming on and Heaven knew what the poor Dutchman would have to pay these Indian profiteers for furs. It was therefore proposed and agreed that prices be fixed, each promising on his honor and oath to adhere to the schedule. For the first offense of non-adherence the guilty man was to be considered perjured and deprived of trading for one year, for the second to be otherwise punished, and for the third to be expelled altogether from the River. The schedule fixed the price of a beaver, a bearskin or an elk-skin at two strings of wampum and for less valuable pelts smaller prices. There is nothing to show what the Indians thought of the rates nor how the plan worked. One can imagine much furtive bootlegging of beavers at forbidden prices.

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The court authorized by Jacquet's commission and instructions was established on his arrival. During his incumbency of office, covering a period of about fifteen months, forty-one sessions were held. Justice may have been administered largely by rule of thumb, but certainly no one could charge that it was delayed. The court seems to have had every sort of jurisdiction, civil, criminal, military and ecclesiastical, legal and equitable, and to it flocked as joyously litigious a set of suitors and prosecutors as any so small community ever afforded.

This one sued to recover a debt, that one prosecuted for assault or for robbery or for slander or for shooting a pig or stealing twenty-three cabbages. Soldiers were tried for mutiny, civilians for selling liquor to Indians. Every sort of accusation was made and every sort of defense offered. A popular defense to any charge of misconduct was that the defendant was drunk at the time—so drunk "that he did not know what he has done, nor where he has been."

Jan Picolet, "a native of Bruylet in France," brought into court Catrine Jans, "born in Sweden," and asked to be "discharged from his promise of marriage" to her because he had found her not all she ought to be and feared, if they should wed, there would be a too prompt and, moreover, a spurious addition to the family. Catrine confessed her peccadillo. The court released Jacob and condemned Catrine to ask on bended knees "the pardon of God and Justice." Six months later back she came with Lawrence Pieters, "bachelor from Leyden," and got the blessing of the court on a new marital contract.

There were fifty-two cases tried by the court in one year in that tiny community, and there was not a single lawyer on the entire River. Yet there are those who say that litigation is bred mostly by lawyers.

CHAPTER XLI

OF THE ADVENTURES OF THE *MERCURIUS*

ON THE fourteenth day of March 1656 Vice-Director Jacquet found himself face to face with a situation that promised work for every faculty and power he possessed, legislative, judicial and executive, military and diplomatic. The ship *Mercurius*, laden with a hundred and ten immigrants and manned by a crew of twenty, all of them those dreaded Swedes and Finns, dropped anchor before the fort, and Papegoja and Huygen came ashore. Finding that the Dutch now held the River, they asked permission to land their passengers and cargo.

Jacquet was in a pickle. Here were enough Swedes to recapture the forts and retake the whole territory. If Rising or Printz had been in command of the ship either of them would probably have done just that. But these two were seemingly disinclined to violence. Jacquet decided to grasp the nettle firmly. He arrested Huygen as an enemy of the state, apparently on general principles, and ordered Papegoja to hold his passengers and cargo aboard the ship until word as to their disposal could be received from the Director-General, to whom hurried news of this awkward situation was sent. Papegoja

sent by the same messenger a letter to Stuyvesant asking for a pass for the ship to New Amsterdam, to re-victual for a return voyage to Sweden.

Stuyvesant and his council were evidently much discomposed by the news. First they made an order that the Swedes must not land, but could go up to New Amsterdam or back to Sweden, as they pleased—anything to get them away from the River. Then they declared they understood that some of the Swedes in the colony were troublesome and dangerous and ordered the arrest of Sven Skute and Jacob Swensson. To accomplish this they would send twelve soldiers from New Amsterdam to Jacquet's assistance. Then they directed that all the other Swedes at once be sworn to obedience. After that they considered Papegoja's letter and, "having no other intentions but to maintain the old union and friendship of the two nations," issued a pass for the *Mercurius* to go to New Amsterdam and thence to Sweden "at their pleasure." Quite plainly it appears that the council at Manhattan was more than a little flurried.

But none of these decisions was pleasing to the rather persistent chief commissary and supercargo of the *Mercurius*, Hendrick Huygen. It was his business to land his passengers and cargo on the South River, and he meant to do it if possible. Released from durance by Jacquet for some unknown reason, this enemy of the state made his way overland to New Amsterdam and presented a petition to the "Honorable, Very Worshipful, Highly Respected General and All the Honorable Members of the Council of New Netherland." In it he mentioned his surprise at finding on his arrival "all which might have been called Swedish" on the River now Dutch and prayed that the distress of the good people, his passengers,

who must, at best, "altogether be deprived of their worship of God"—according to the Augsburg Confession—"and live under a foreign nation"—to wit, the Dutch—"whose language and manners are not known to them"—and certainly not agreeable to them—that this distress be considered, and they be allowed to settle in some uninhabited place on the River, where, he promises, they will dwell in peace and amity with the Dutch. A moving petition, indeed, yet its prayers were denied and the former orders confirmed. Huygen accepted his defeat and assured the council that he would comply and they need not send the *Waegh* to make him.

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Two weeks passed but the *Mercurius* did not arrive at New Amsterdam. Nothing had been heard of her nor had there been any word of any sort from the South River, except some vague Indian rumors of trouble there. Who knew but that the Swedes had taken it all back again and that Vice-Director Jacquet was now the prisoner of Commissary Huygen? The suspense was unendurable. To end it Dirck Smidt, with "12 to 16 armed men," was despatched to Casimir to send back, "as quickly as possible by a savage or otherwise, information whether the ship *Mercurius* had left and how the other affairs of the Company are getting on."

News came back quickly, but it was not good news. It appeared that, while the *Mercurius* lay at anchor awaiting final orders, she had been boarded by some Swedes and Finns and a number of Indians, "who were fond of the Swedes," and they, "in defiance of the Hollanders, conducted the ship past Sandhook or Fort Casimir, without its daring to fire a shot" for fear of killing Indians and starting a war, and so it went on

to Tinicum, where amid their own people the passengers disembarked.

Now what could the Council do? Only one thing, send the *Waegh*, the trouble ship, to redress this wrong. So down came the *Waegh* with troops aboard for force and Councillors de Sille and van Tienhoven for direction. It looked as if the placid Delaware was about to anticipate the glories of Trafalgar. But no—the *Waegh* ran peaceably aground on a sand-bar in the Bay and there, mute, inglorious, impotent, immovable, she hung until some Swedes were induced to help her off and to pacify the Indians, who were threatening her as an enemy of their dear Swedes. There *Mercurius*, sailing south from Tinicum, met her, and Honorables de Sille and van Tienhoven learned that the landing of the Swedes was an accomplished fact which no force at their disposal could undo. So back to New Amsterdam went the Dutch man-of-war, accompanied by the now very compliant *Mercurius*, to report to the Director-General that his southern colony was bigger, if not better, than before and that he would have to accept the situation, whether he liked it or not.

The cargo of the *Mercurius* was sold, a new cargo loaded, and she returned to Sweden. Papegoja went home, too, and so did the "Rev. Mathias," but Huygen remained in the colony as did most of the new immigrants. Thus ended Sweden's last expedition to the Delaware.

CHAPTER XLII

OF THE TERRIBLE SWEDES

EVEN before Stuyvesant took Casimir and Christina the greater number of the Swedish colonists dwelt on the land north of the Minquas Kill. Casimir had been Dutch in its origin and had during Rising's short régime remained predominantly Dutch. The river shore to the northward of Christina toward Tinicum was fast land, while below toward Casimir it was low and marshy. Desiring to remain close to their principal and only practicable highway, the River, the Swedes and Finns had taken up land in this northern territory. The district between Marcus Hook and Naaman's Creek was called Finland. Then, too, Tinicum had been the seat of government after Printz came and built his house there. There were very few Dutch above Christina. Thus the colony was divided geographically between the two peoples with the Kill as a boundary.

When the River fell into the hands of the Dutch and Rising and his officers and soldiers had been deported, the up-river Swedes found themselves without any government except the remote and alien administration at Casimir, whose arm was neither long enough nor strong enough to govern and protect

them, nor was it much interested in their welfare. Its only wish, as to these possibly rebellious citizens, was that they would all move away, its only hope that they would mind their own affairs and not bother the Dutch.

There were "at least two hundred" of these Swedes and Finns "above Fort Christina, two or three leagues further up the river." Their natural leaders were Gregorius van Dyck, Captain Sven Skute and Lieut. Elias Gyllengren, all of them officers of the ancient régime and still trailing their little clouds of official glory. Quite naturally they set up a sort of extra-legal system of self-government with military and civil functionaries. Sven Skute was made captain, Anders Dalbo lieutenant and Jacob Swensson ensign. Olof Stille, Matts Hansson, Peter Rambo and Peter Cock were magistrates, Gregorius van Dyck sheriff. Gyllengren was without office but was doubtless unofficially influential. Whether these were all in office before the visit of Stuyvesant to the River in 1658 does not appear. Nor does it appear on what legal basis, if any, the magistrates functioned. The only apparently legally established court was that which the Dutch held.

By that time, however, this separate judicial system seems to have obtained some recognition, for the Swedish magistrates petitioned Stuyvesant for "proper instructions to perform equitably the duties" entrusted to them and, "for their execution," the appointment of a "court-messenger," a sort of deputy *schout-fiscal* or sheriff to serve writs. They also asked for "free access to the Commander at Fort Altena," which was the new name for Christina, "to get assistance from the soldiers in cases of emergency," all of which prayers the Director-General granted. He also noted without disapproval in his report to his Council the names and titles of the three

military officers. It thus appears that the Swedes and Finns set up and maintained a little separate government of their own, though within and ultimately subject to the Dutch government, and that the Dutch were at least acquiescent.

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The truth of the matter is the Dutch did not dare object. They were always in dread of a Swedish rebellion and the recapture of the River. This fear showed itself in many ways. Jacquet was instructed "to look well after the Swedes," to keep them out of Fort Casimir and to expel, though "with all possible politeness," any that might be disaffected. When the *Mercurius* arrived, the Council at New Amsterdam was informed by Jacquet that some of the Swedes were "either troublesome or very dangerous," that is to say rebels either *in esse* or *in posse*. He named Skute and Swensson as the especial culprits, Swensson having "held secret intelligence with the savages."

Now Swensson may have been the ingenious author of the scheme by which the *Mercurius* was got past Casimir under safe conduct afforded by the presence of friendly Indians on board of her. One would rather like to credit him with that clever, quite justifiable and altogether humorous bit of strategy. On the other hand, if a Dutchman heard a Swede talking to a savage in the Indian language, which few of the Hollanders understood, although the conversation were about the state of the weather and the price of beavers, the Dutchman would have imagined that conspiracies and plots, treasons, stratagems and spoils were in the making in these "secret intelligences." If one wanted to make a South River Dutchman jump, it could be done by saying "Swede!" suddenly behind him.

Every Dutchman at Casimir slept with one eye open to the northward.

Nor was this state of mind prevalent only on the River. In the hearts of the Council at New Amsterdam and of the Directors at old Amsterdam were the same fears and trepidations. They showed themselves in the motive underlying the difference in policy and plan between the Council and the Directors with respect to the establishment of Swedish villages.

When it was first proposed the Council not only granted permission, they adjudged it "necessary that the same be done forthwith," and the authorities on the River were "ordered and directed to concentrate their houses and dwellings." They could be so much more easily watched if they were concentrated. But the Honorable Directors strongly disapproved. It was, in their judgment, most desirable "to separate them from each other and prevent their concentrated settlements, or rather to put them scattered among our people, where they will be less to fear."

But, whatever the plans and policies of the Councillors and Directors, the Swedes did as they pleased. They declined to gather themselves together in towns and villages as the Council proposed. They were farmers, countrymen, not artisans, traders or other town dwellers. They were equally averse to the Directors' plan of scattering them among the Dutch. They preferred the society of those whose language, manners, customs and religion were native to them. The Dutch could like it or not. They stayed where they were.

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When the news came to the Noble Lords Directors, Masters and Patroons at Amsterdam that Stuyvesant had allowed the Swedes to have their own military organization under their

own officers, and that they had stipulated that in case of "the arrival of any Swedish succour" they should remain neutral, not be called on to fight their own countrymen, there was almost a panic among the Honorables. They were astonished and shocked by "this unheard-of and bold proposition by subjects bound to this State and the Company by their oaths, who thereby clearly show the sentiments nursed in their hearts." "It would have been better," they thought, "to disarm the whole nation there, than to provide them in such manner with officers and hand them the weapons, which they will know well how to use against us not only upon the arrival of the slightest Swedish succour, but also on other occasions."

Stuyvesant in his reply justified the titles, Noble Honorable Worshipful Wise and Very Prudent, by which his Vice-Director always addressed him. "We have good reason to believe with your Noble Worships, that neither the Swedes nor the English, who live under our jurisdiction or outside of it, have a great affection for this State and the same might be supposed and sustained from us, in case we should be conquered, from which the good God may save us, but how to prevent and improve it, Right Worshipful Gentlemen, *hoc opus hoc labor est.* We have thought the most suitable would be a lenient method of governing them and proceeding with them to win their hearts and divert their thoughts from a hard and tyrannical form of government," wherefore he had given them officers "that in time of necessity, against the savages and other enemies," they might defend themselves. Whether the Noble Lords Directors, Masters and Poltroons in Amsterdam had the wit to perceive the prudence of this policy and the decency to approve its humanity or not, they made no further objections. The Swedes kept their officers and their arms.

All this trepidation was, of course, pure funk. There could not have been found in America a more peaceful law-abiding and obedient group of colonists than those Swedes and Finns on the South River. They were submissive and unresistant to their new rulers to the last degree. There never was during the Dutch rule there any plotting or planning of insurrection or organized resistance to the rule of the Vice-Director. When the *Mercurius* came with a hundred and thirty new Swedes and Finns, an addition that made them overwhelmingly superior in numbers to the Dutch, their boldest endeavor was nothing more than the timid acceptance of a lucky chance to go ashore and settle down among their friends.

They coöperated willingly with the Dutch in all measures for the common good, and in the course of time, by intermarriage, by use and custom and by the unifying effect of a common subjection to another alien nation, the English, these two elements of the River's population were amalgamated. But as long as the Dutch ruled the colony this fear of the Swedes disturbed their breasts.

CHAPTER XLIII

OF THE DIVISION OF THE COLONY

HE more the College of XIX in Amsterdam studied its balance sheet and its ledgers after the conquest of New Sweden, the stronger grew the conviction that something must be done without delay, if it was to avoid bankruptcy. No matter what value it might put upon the newly acquired real estate, it could not make income and outgo meet as equals. Assets are sometimes also liabilities, and such a paradox was facing them now. The obvious remedy in such case, as the Directors were not slow to perceive, is to unload on someone else.

The City of Amsterdam was a rich corporation. All dealers in expensive and non-productive wares, such as old furniture, old books, old masters and other rarities, find their market among the over-rich. Here was an Early American Colony, an unique specimen indeed, for there was no other just like it. Why not sell it to the rich City of Amsterdam? That would relieve the "difficulty and alarm" in which the Directors found themselves. They were more than willing to sacrifice it or some part of it on "reasonable and favorable" terms, in

fact they confessed to Stuyvesant that they were "ready and eager."

Thus it came about that the Noble, Very Worshipful Lords Burgomasters and Governors of the City of Amsterdam on the twelfth of April 1657 became seized and possessed of all the land "beginning on the West [South] side of Minquas or Christina Kil, called in the Indian language Suppekongh, to the mouth of the bay or river called Boomptjes Hoeck, in the Indian language Canaresse, and so far landward as the boundaries of the Minquas country, with all streams, kils, creeks, harbors, bays and outlines belonging thereto," by deed signed by P. Stuyvesant, Nicasius de Sille and Pieter Tonneman on behalf of the States-General and the West India Company and delivered to Jacob Alrichs on behalf of the grantees. The consideration was, it seems, the cancellation of the Company's debt to the City for money theretofore lent it by the City.

Thus again the Minquas Kill became a political boundary between two territories and so continued for six years until, in 1663, the City of Amsterdam acquired all the land to the north of it. It is interesting to note that the Kill—the Christiana River now—was always a geologic dividing line between the high hilly rock-ribbed country to the north and the low level alluvial land to the south, and that it has continued to be the dividing line between the northern industrial and commercial country and the southern agricultural territory.

For the City's colony the seat of government was established at Fort Casimir, and the little town which had been laid out south of it was called Nieuwer (New) Amstel after one of the suburbs of Amsterdam. It was a tiny hamlet. Two years before the division there were only about twelve families living there

and there had been few, if any, additions in the meantime, though its population was soon to be increased.

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The deed of conveyance to the City was dated April 12th, 1657, but the City had actually taken over its new colony in the year before and had made efforts to induce emigration to it. The conditions on which the new settlers were to be brought out promised them transportation, free land for their habitation, fortified for defense, with "streets, a market and lots suitable for the service as well of traders and mechanics, as of farmers," a schoolmaster "who shall also read the Holy Scriptures in public and set the Psalms," clothing, provisions and seed-grain for one year, a storehouse in charge of a factor where "everything necessary for clothing, housekeeping and farming" could be bought "at the same prices as they are sold at here, the Company's toll excepted," also police protection and the administration of justice, a *schout*, three burgomasters and five or seven *schepens*—magistrates. When the town grew to two hundred families, they were to choose a Common Council of twenty-one persons. Farmers were to have, "in free, fast and durable property," as much land as they could improve, in fee simple, if brought under cultivation in two years. There were to be no taxes for ten years and freedom from tithes—"tenths"—for twenty years. They might ship produce to Amsterdam, where the City would provide storehouses and undertake the sale of the cargoes sent over, reimbursing its treasury for the expense of transporting the emigrants and their families by withholding one tenth of the net proceeds of such sales. They could have free timber for the cutting and free hunting and fishing. Minerals and precious stones discovered belonged to the finder. All this in a land

declared to provide "a fruitful soil in a healthy and temperate climate, watered by and situated on a large fresh water river." It really is no wonder that in December 1656 a company of freemen and boors and their families, a hundred and sixty-seven in all, embarked in the *Prins Maurits*, the *Beer* and the *Gelderse Blom*, bound for this land of free everything.

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They had the usual "indifferent luck." Three days out, the *Prins Maurits* was separated in a storm from the others. On the voyage, it "experienced, now and then, divers inconveniences, from the sails, which were blown out of the bolts, from the shot, which rolled out of the carriages, and from the breaking and shipping of the sea, which rushed so heavily and impetuously over the deck." On the 17th of February they sighted land, "which created a hope" that they might soon land "at the Manhattes." But "the Lord God not vouchsafing this, through the ignorance of the skipper, pilot and other of the ship's officers," on the 8th of March she struck on the south side of Long Island, "so that we were not a moment certain whether we should leave there alive or perish. . . . In severe, bitter and freezing weather, with drifting ice, after great trouble, through dangerous breakers, in a very leaky boat, with considerable water in it, we succeeded in reaching the shore on a broken spit or foreland, on which neither bush nor grass grew, nor was any tree or firewood to be found."

They had no idea where they were. The ship was fast "as if it were upon its burial ground." For three days they labored getting out "most all of the goods . . . but before they could all be got out the ship stove into a thousand splinters and pieces."

On the third day they saw some Indians, by one of whom

word of the disaster was sent to Stuyvesant. He came to the rescue with several "yachts." Then, in a chartered ship, the *Verguldene Bever*, a hundred and twenty-five of them, including seventy-six women and children and the new Director of the City's colony, Jacob Alrichs, were carried to New Amstel, reaching there on the 21st of April. The *Beer* and the *Gelderse Blom* arrived ten days later. Forty Dutch soldiers, the new garrison for Fort Casimir, under Captain Martin Krygier and Lieutenant Alexander d'Hinoyossa, who had come over in the *Prins Maurits*, marched overland from Manhattan.

With this expedition was Evert Pietersen, "Comforter of the Sick and Schoolmaster," the first pedagogue to come to the South River. He reported that he found in the City's colony "20 families . . . mostly Swedes, not more than 5 or 6 families belonging to our nation." He was pleased with the land. It was "excellent land for tillage." "I therefore firmly believe were we to have 1 or 2 thousand hearty farmers we should reap an excellent crop here, where, therefore, nothing is wanting but people. . . . I already begin to keep school and have 25 children."

CHAPTER XLIV

OF A POLITICAL PUZZLE

THE States-General was the lord paramount of whom all the land on the South River was held and from whom all authority over it was derived. The Dutch West India Company was the creature of the States-General and its subordinate in all respects. By delegated authority the Company governed all the South River colony before its division. The Director-General and Council, as instruments of the Company, were in immediate control. By the cession of the southern territory to the City, the colony was divided. The Company continued to hold the northern part as before. Its powers and rights over that part were undiminished, and its system of government was unaltered. So much is clear.

But when one comes to inquire into the legal and political status of the southern colony, its system of government and its relationship to its northern neighbor, to the Company and to the Director-General and Council at New Amsterdam, satisfactory conclusions are not so easily reached.

Did the cession to the City involve an entire relinquishment of all rights and powers over the ceded territory, of all the authority which had been committed to the Company by the

States-General? Did the chain of title to such authorities and powers, as well as the mere ownership of the land, now run straight down from States-General to the City and then to its Director in New Amstel, leaving out the Company and its officers in New Amsterdam? Was the Company now a stranger to the southern colony, with no control over it nor any right of interference in its government and affairs? Was the northern colony thereafter a sister colony merely because of territorial adjacency and with all other relationship severed? Or was the grant to the City merely a conveyance of title to the land, leaving its political status unchanged? Or did the New Amstel colony stand on some middle ground, the land belonging to the City with certain rights and powers of government over it given the Burgomasters and certain others retained by the Company? And, if this was the case, what division of powers and authority had been made?

Answers to these questions must be sought in the documents in the case, interpreted in the light thrown on them by the subsequent actions of the parties to the transaction.

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Take first the deed of conveyance of the southern territory signed by Stuyvesant and two members of his Council on behalf of the States-General and the West India Company. The grantee was Jacob Alrichs, acting on behalf of the Burgomasters and Governors of the City of Amsterdam. It "transferred, ceded and conveyed . . . their Colony on the South-river of New-Netherland, Fort Casimir, now called New-Amstel, together with all territory belonging thereto" as further described. It relinquished "all actual and real possession, ownership, claim and privilege" thereof, thereto and thereon. "Ownership, claim and privilege"—the words seem

to cover everything the Company had, governmental rights, control and authority, as well as title to the soil. The Company seems to have resigned everything, put on its hat and walked out, leaving the States-General as the immediate overlord of the Burgomasters of the City with respect to New Amstel.

But there is another document, a memorandum of the agreement between the City and the Company, dated prior to the date of the deed. It is brief, only five paragraphs, and quite too succinct to be satisfactory.

It provides that the Company shall "cede and grant to the City of Amsterdam, as founder and planters of the place"—without describing the place,—"high, low and middle jurisdiction" therein, shall grant, that is to say, complete legal jurisdiction over all things and all persons in the ceded colony. But it further provides that "the sovereignty and supreme authority, with whatever depends thereupon" shall remain, nevertheless in the States General and *in the Company*.

"The sovereignty and supreme authority" would, of course and without stipulation, remain in the States-General, but this reservation of sovereignty by the Company also creates a puzzling situation. What was the Company's position? It could not be the equal sharer with the States-General, standing side by side with it in holding this ultimate authority, for it was not a sovereign power. It never had been an equal, was always before subordinate to the States-General. Was it then interposed between the lord paramount and the City, so that the chain of authority ran from States-General to the Company and then to City, making the City responsible to the Company? The conduct of the colony's affairs does not seem to justify this subordination of the City to the Company. Nor did the two stand side by side as partners in the management and

control of the lower colony. The City governed its new colony without the aid of the Company. Alrichs was its appointed Director, not a Vice-Director of Stuyvesant as Jacquet had been. When he swore the colonists to fealty, it was to the States-General, the Burgomasters and their Director, leaving out the Company.

But when Stuyvesant heard of this omission it "appeared very strange" to him. He spoke to Alrichs about it and Alrichs promised to amend the oath to include the Company, requesting, however, "that no mention be made of it to the Lords-Burgomasters." Why? If the Company still participated in any way in the "sovereignty and supreme authority" over the lower colony, it was entitled to have that fact recognized in the oath of allegiance, and the City could not rightly object. Alrichs evidently felt that the City did not recognize this relationship to the Company and would blame him for recognizing it. Whether it was his recognition of this relationship or his personal subservience to the masterful Stuyvesant that made him yield, no one can say. Though he made his official reports to the Burgomasters and not to Stuyvesant or the Company, he was always writing to Stuyvesant about his administration of the colony and in the most deferential manner, accepting criticisms and reproof without resentment, making profuse explanations of his acts, apologizing for his shortcomings. Anyone reading these letters would say that he wrote as to his superior officer.

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In some respects, certainly, the Company retained its rights at New Amstel after its cession. It continued to collect duties on all imports and exports there, and the City acquiesced in this. The citizens there had a right to appeal from the decisions

of the City's court to the court of the Company at New Amsterdam.

In an official letter from the Directors of the Company in Holland to Stuyvesant there is an explicit assertion that the Company "reserved to herself the special authority and patroonship [over New Amstel] and consequently the aforesaid colony cannot be construed as anything else than a subaltern colony, standing under the aforesaid West-India Company." But, although the Directors claim that the Burgomasters "apprehend the same," they are chary of forcing it upon the attention of the Burgomasters. They are disinclined to bring Alrichs's shortcomings, in the matter of the oath and in alleged restraints upon the right of appeal, before the Burgomasters, preferring that Stuyvesant "remedy such infractions in time" and himself maintain the Company's "prerogatives and privileges." This tenderness toward the Burgomasters might lead one to doubt the confidence of the Directors in their position.

On the whole, the best fortified conclusion seems to be that the Company did retain a measure of "authority and patroonship" over the City's colony, that New Amstel was neither wholly free, nor wholly subject to the Company, that the legal and political relationship between it and the Company was undefined and probably not definable to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

CHAPTER XLV

OF THE GROWTH OF NEW AMSTEL

ITH Alrichs's arrival Jacquet's jurisdiction was abridged. Only the northern colony remained under his control and even that but for the moment. Charges against him had been lodged with the Council serious enough to warrant his arrest. Jan Schaggen complained that Jacquet had claimed the land which had been allotted to Schaggen by the Council, and in reply to remonstrances had said "he cared the devil for Stuyvesant and Silla." "With sword in hand he drove me," says Schaggen plaintively, "three times from my work into my house" and finally clear off the place. David Wessels complained that Jacquet tore down his house and used the wood to make a barn, and there were other complaints of "vexing the community, persecuting with violence the inhabitants, tyrannising over the soldiers, diminishing and destroying the Company's property."

Jacquet denied the accusations, asserting that they "were mostly gotten up by party-spirit." He seems not to have been tried for his offenses, Alrichs certifying to his belief that "there was more passion than reason" in the charges, but he

lost his office, Andries Hudde being given temporary command at Christina.

In his new office Alrichs found that he must shoulder "daily great burdens" and meet heavy expenses. The fort and other public buildings were, of course, "much decayed." There was no warehouse "to shelter the provisions etc. and protect them against rain and other damages." The soldiers' quarters were too small, "besides very leaky and very much out of repairs." The parapets of the fortress were in such a sad state that one could "pass over them as easily as through the inner gate itself." He felt that these defects in the town's defenses must be remedied immediately "to be somewhat in position of defense, mostly against the Swedes" who still nourished "great hopes to be reinstated." Those Swedish goblins!

In August arrived the faithful *Waegh*, having weathered a storm "at or near the coast of Cape Henlopen where it was tossed hard and much." It had been reported ready to sail from Amsterdam in May "with several families and other free colonists," also a preacher, on board. There is no record to show how many came nor of what nation they were. The Directors in Amsterdam had written to Stuyvesant a few months before that "many of the exiled Waldenses" might desire to emigrate to the South River. There were in Holland large numbers of these fugitives from religious persecution, homeless people to whom the chance of settling in a new country might have strongly appealed. But there are in the surviving records so few names not plainly of Dutch, Swedish or Finnish origin, that it is very doubtful that any of the Vaudois refugees came over.

When Alrichs took office the entire population of New Amstel, beside the small garrison in the fort, consisted of

twelve or thirteen families. They were governed by Vice-Director Jacquet and the simple courts which have been described. They had no voice in the selection of judges or other officers. With the increase of population through the arrival of Alrichs's fellow voyagers and those who came in the *Waegh*, there arose a demand for a voice in their own government. Accordingly Alrichs authorized the election by the citizens of a *vroedschap*, or council, of seven, three *schepens* or magistrates, a secretary and a *schout* or sheriff, also two elders and two deacons for the management of church affairs. This was the first time that popular self-government had been allowed in any of the territory on the River.

The growth in numbers required substantial municipal improvements. A magazine or storehouse was built, the fort was repaired, a guard-house, a bake-house, a forge and dwellings for the clergyman and other officers were provided. A fine town hall two stories high and twenty feet square was built of logs. Building lots were granted to the citizens, and by the end of the year New Amstel was "a goodly town of about one hundred houses," the metropolis of the Delaware.

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In the surviving records of the allotments of land in the colony made in 1656 and 1657 thirty grants appear. Of these twenty-one are for lots "for a house and garden near Fort Casimir," town lots. Only nine are for "plantations" or pieces of land suitable for agriculture. This proportion is significant of the fact that these Dutch colonists were town-dwellers, not farmers, not of the producing classes on whom any successful colonial enterprise must be founded. The Swedes and Finns were the tillers of the soil on the Delaware, the Dutch were artisans or tradesmen.

And they were tradesmen rather than artisans. Alrichs complains in March 1658 that there was not a carpenter in the town, that "private people had to work for themselves." With forests full of timber all around them they had to send to Fort Orange—Albany—for sawn boards. With inexhaustible beds of clay close by they repeatedly sent to Fort Orange for cargoes of bricks, until in 1659 Cornelis Herperts de Jager established a brick-kiln. One hardly sees how such a colony could have hoped to be self-sustaining.

More people had come and were coming. The population was increased. New Amstel was a bigger town, but not a better. Quantity was cared for, but quality neglected. Alrichs told the Commissioners in Amsterdam all about it.

"In the *Prins Maurits*," he wrote "were 35 colonists, free handicrafts-men, among them some workmen, but the major part tradesmen, who did not learn their trades very well and ran away from their masters too early, in consequence of their own viciousness. Also 47 soldiers, 10 civil servants, 76 women, children and maid-servants. Those who arrived in the vessels *Waegh*, *Sonne*, *Muelen* were of no good repute, scarcely three good farmers among the whole lot. The total was 137 tradesmen and servants, 70 soldiers and civil servants, 300 women and children and the maid-servants of the married women and children &c, who came here as single women." Tradesmen, civil servants and soldiers by the hundred, and three farmers.

CHAPTER XLVI

OF A NEW DIRECTOR, AN OLD TIMER, IVOR THE FINN AND THE LADY ARMEGOT

ACQUET'S dismissal from the Company's service in April 1657 left vacant the post of Vice-Director of the Company's colony. He had been ordered to deliver the property of the Company to Andries Hudde, Jan Juriaensen and Sergeant Paulus Smith, and for a little while Hudde was left in charge of the northern colony, with headquarters at Fort Altena.

The Directors had, some months before, ordered that fort and the one at New Gothenburg to be garrisoned with eight or ten soldiers each, "as well for the safety of the Swedes, now our subjects, as to awe and make careful the natives and other nations." By "safety of the Swedes" they meant making the Swedes safe neighbors for the Dutch.

Alrichs reported to Stuyvesant that Altena was "somewhat tumbled down, as no garrison has been there for quite a while." Its new importance, as no longer a mere outpost but now the capital of the Company's colony, required its restoration, and this was undertaken by Hudde.

His headship of Altena was brief. About four months after

he took charge there Alrichs hired him to work for the City as a sort of handy man. Thus, except for its military commander at the fort, the northern colony was without a head, and so remained for about a year. This was a practicable arrangement because nearly all of the colonists there were Swedes and Finns, and they governed themselves, but it gave opportunity for certain irregularities harmful to the Company's treasury.

There was laxity in the collection of duties on imported goods and on the peltries and other merchandise exported, there was smuggling of incoming and outgoing cargoes. There was also a disinclination on the part of Alrichs to let some colonists remove from his town and settle at Altena. To iron out these uncomfortable wrinkles Stuyvesant came down from New Amsterdam.

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He was received by Alrichs, who was chagrined at "the poor reception and small entertainment" which was all his "inconvenient position" allowed him to offer the great General. The Swedes were lined up to take an oath of fealty, and it was then that they asked "not to be obliged to take sides if any trouble should arise" between Sweden and the States-General, which was agreed to by "the Hon^{ble} General."

Stuyvesant was convinced that the welfare of the Company required that a suitable person be engaged and sent as Commissary to the South River. "The qualifications and good conduct of S^{r}. Willem Beeckman, a citizen and old inhabitant" of New Amsterdam, recommended him for the job. He was appointed Commissary and Vice-Director with a salary of "fifty guilders per month and two hundred guilders annually for commutation of rations."

His commission described him as late *Schepen* and Elder in

New Amsterdam, and, with reliance on his "ability, piety and experience," it empowered him "to attend to the safety of the country, fort, military and freemen . . . to administer law and justice" and generally further everything for the service of the Company.

His instructions required him to reside at Fort Altena until he could get a suitable house at New Amstel, where he was to be on hand whenever any vessels arrived, before they broke cargo, and to see that duties and excises on all goods had been paid in the fatherland or were paid on landing. He was authorized to seize contraband and smuggled goods and sue the smugglers and contrabandists in the City's court. He was also to keep "good order and discipline" in the Company's colony.

The tenor of these instructions make it clear that Beeckman was primarily a customs officer and that his other duties were, in a sense, supplementary to his principal function. Unfortunately this required his frequent presence in the City's colony and led to unpleasant friction with the City's Director, who succeeded Alrichs and was much more jealous of the City's prerogatives than Alrichs had been.

Beeckman's appointment gave a new turn to the affairs of the veteran, Hudde. He had been on the River for sixteen years, most of that time as a sort of foot-ball kicked and buffeted about between the Swedes and Dutch. He was an old man now and poor. The Indians had stolen what goods he had in store. Beeckman made him his secretary and sexton of the church at Altena. He held these posts until 1663. Then an ambition to do and to be something on his own account led him to undertake an independent venture as a brewer in Maryland. He set out for that Province "by way of Appoquinimy," but on the road he fell ill of "an ardent fever," and so this old-

timer died. Hudde's memoirs of his life on the River would have been a priceless document. He had seen the seamy side of many happenings there.

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The upper colony was still a Swedish colony in all but name. But for an occasional vague gesture of recognition of Dutch sovereignty, such as the taking of the oath of allegiance, it was practically self-governing. The colonists were increasing in numbers by their natural fecundity. In 1659 their *schout*, van Dyke, reported a hundred and thirty men able to bear arms, which must have indicated a population of six hundred or so. In 1663 sixty or more new emigrants from Sweden landed at New Amstel. They may have joined their fellow-countrymen up the River or they may have settled in the lower colony. There had been some disposition among the up-river people to infiltrate the colony south of them. In 1660 twenty families of Swedes and Finns had proposed removal to the neighborhood of the City's capital. They were forbidden because of the prevalent Swedophobia, but, as time passed and their peaceable harmless natures became known, this fear evaporated. Two years later a similar movement was not only permitted but even induced with "great offers" of relief from taxes and so forth. In 1663 there were enough Swedes in New Amstel to require and to support a priest of the Augsburg Confession. Rev. Abelius Zetskorn was called. The Dutch were by this time so reconciled to their northern neighbors that there were even requests to the home office to send over more "Swedes and Finns, who are good farmers."

Good farmers they were. In 1663 a census showed that "Swedes, Finns and other nations," probably including a few Germans and Danes, had a hundred and ten good *bouweries*

or farms, stocked with two hundred neat cattle, twenty horses, eighty sheep and thousands of swine. Besides the profits from their agriculture, there was some addition to their wealth from trading with the Indians for furs. Their remoteness from their Dutch overlords and the sympathy of their own officials gave them good opportunity for this illicit commerce. They were prosperous, well rooted in this new land and well pleased with it. Though some of them, displaying the nomadic traits of their Finnish ancestors, drifted down into Maryland, or fled to that Province to escape the tyrannies of the Dutch governor and the disasters that befell the colony, most of them spread slowly, by natural expansion, over the near-by country and established themselves there permanently.

As a rule they gave little trouble to the courts, either their own or those of the Dutch. There were, of course, occasional individual eruptions. One Evert or Ivor Hindricksson, known as "Ivor, the Finn," was a rather tough specimen.

He was charged in the court at Altena with having villainously beaten pious Jorian Kyn, a man who had "never irritated a child," and with having threatened to shoot him with a gun and to cut off his head with a knife. His defense was that Kyn's hogs had trespassed on his land and that he pointed the gun not at Kyn, but at the hogs. At the trial witnesses testified that Ivor was a desperado, "guilty of great insolence . . . by making noise, shooting and other disorderly acts," that he had driven people from their homes, thrown stones at the barber-surgeon, Stidden, threatened this one, assaulted that one and that he was suspected of having made love to his neighbor's wife. A punishment to fit such a combination of crimes seemed to be beyond the invention of the court. Bad man Ivor was sent to the Director-General and Council for their judgment.

There were a few other disorderly persons, among them Dominie Lars Lock, whose adventures have been already recorded, but the generality of the Swedes and Finns were peaceable citizens.

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Johan Papegoja had returned to Sweden after the departure of the *Mercurius*, but his wife had remained in America. She seems to have inherited many of the colorful characteristics of her father, the great Johan Printz, and her decision to stay behind when her husband went back to Sweden had, perhaps, not been unpleasing to him. Nor, possibly, was his departure a source of much grief to her. At all events she resumed her maiden surname and called herself Armegot Printz. She was a conspicuous figure in the colony and one long remembered. A hundred years after Madam Papegoja left America, Acrelius wrote of her, "They still tell of the lady at Tenacong, how haughty she was, and how she oppressed the poor when she was in prosperity."

After the Dutch took the River, she petitioned Stuyvesant for leave to hold the land at Tinicum which had been given to her father, and her prayer was granted. Twenty-three years later Jaspar Dankars and Peter Sluyter, two Dutchmen who were looking for a place for the Labidist colony which afterwards was established at Bohemia Manor, visited Tinicum. They describe it as an island separated from the mainland by a small creek, "as wide as a large ditch." It was about two miles long and a mile and a half wide. Only the southwest point was cultivated, and that was "barren, scraggy and sandy, growing plenty of wild onions, a weed not easily eradicated." There were on it three or four houses, a little log church, the remains of a large block-house and the ruins of some log huts

That was all that remained of the manor of Printzdorp, yet this marshy island and these remains were the subject of long drawn out negotiations and law suits.

Armegot sold the place to one de la Grange for six thousand guilders. He paid certain instalments of the price, but died before completing his payments. Armegot sued his widow, claiming either the balance due or the return of the property. Then came in one "Mons. la Motte" as a suitor for the hand of the widow de la Grange, and, perhaps as an inducement for her favor, he agreed to buy the island from her. But Armegot was more successful with her suit than M. la Motte with his. "The affair of Mons. la Motte and the widow de la Grange came to nothing, and, on the other hand, the widow de la Grange could not deliver the land to Mons. la Motte and la Motte could not pay." The case was tried on appeal before the Court of Assizes in New York. There was trouble at the trial because some of the papers were in High Dutch and some in Low Dutch, and neither the court nor the counsel was trilingual. But after the Lutheran dominie had translated the High Dutch into Low Dutch and Nicholas Bayard had translated the Low Dutch into English, they managed to find out what it was all about. The widow was condemned to restore the island to Armegot and to pay over all the income she had received from it and damages for allowing the buildings to go to waste.

Then Armegot sold it to Otto Cock for three hundred guilders. A new character now appeared, Arnout de la Grange, heir to the original purchaser. He sued on the ground that he was a minor when the former suit was tried and so could not appear in it and so was not bound by the judgment. Fortunately this controversy was compromised and settled by agree-

ment, and Tinicum ceased to be chiefly a source of income for the provincial and metropolitan bar.

Armegot went to Sweden in 1662, when she sold out to de la Grange, but came back again when he defaulted on his payments, and stayed at Printzdorp until she sold the place to Cock. She lived alone with only one man-servant, because nobody showed any "inclination to live with her." But she did manage to operate a plant for distilling "some small quantities of liquors from corn" under license from Governor Lovelace, who coupled his permit with a proviso that "it be done with such moderation that no just complaint do arise thereby."

The Swedes, her neighbors, were aggrieved because, when she sold the island she sold their church and the bell that had been sent them from Sweden, and, though they were allowed by the purchaser to use the church, they had to buy back the bell by doing two days reaping for it. Armegot went home to Sweden for the last time in 1676 and died there in 1695. The name of Printz, of either father or daughter, was enshrined in few, if any, loving memories on the Delaware.

CHAPTER XLVII

OF DISCORD, DEARTH, DISEASE AND DESERTION

ABOVE the Kill, in the Swedish settlements, there was prosperity and bucolic tranquillity. Below, among the Dutch, in sad contrast, adversity and civic turbulence prevailed. Dissatisfaction, strife, hunger and pestilence in the years 1658 and 1659 brought the City's colony to the edge of ruin and desolation.

To begin with the lesser evils, there was discord between Director Alrichs and Captain Krygier arising out of difference of opinion concerning the composition of the court that tried military offenders. Krygier, soldierlike, insisted on a court of three, two-thirds military. Alrichs yielded the point, but still "many petty quarrels and misunderstandings" occurred.

Alrichs thought Krygier favored his men. He complained to Stuyvesant that "many licentious acts were committed by the soldiery, which were then let off with lenient punishment." When Alrichs undertook to admonish the soldiers "that the square of the fort should be swept and cleaned on Sundays," he was called a tyrant and told that such orders must come from the Captain, which seems a reasonable reply, except that, instead of calling him a tyrant, they might better have called

him a busybody. And so it was with other matters in which he undertook to interfere with Krygier's soldiers.

Krygier was as little pleased with Alrichs as Alrichs was with him, indeed even less. He asked for his discharge which Alrichs refused to give him, telling him it must come from the Burgomasters in Holland. Krygier was, however, soon relieved, probably by Stuyvesant who was his friend. That no discredit attached to his removal is amply proven by his subsequent honors, civil as well as military. He became the first Burgomaster of New Amsterdam.·

There were complaints against Alrichs by the citizens. Some, who were in distress and "could not succeed" on the South River, wanted to go up to Manhattan. Because they were in debt to the colony Alrichs would not let them go, though they offered to "bind themselves by oath not to leave the province" until the debts were paid. Later he gave them permission to go, but it was too late. "When we still had so much left, that we could pay our passage," said these suppliants, "we offered it to his Honor, Mr. Alrichs, and begged with folded hands that he might be pleased to receive it for our debts, but his Honor would not grant it and said that we were bound to remain here four years, and now we have consumed our little property in times of great hunger, grief, misery and distress and have nothing to pay [our passage] his Honor says 'Pay first and then clear out!'"

Alrichs's action in such matters was characterized by Krygier as "too slavish and too odious for free people." The Directors in Holland complained of his "too great preciseness." Complaints against him are said to have been innumerable.

Alrichs had a hard job, and he was not the man for it. While obsequious to his superiors, even servile toward Stuyvesant,

to those under him he was dictatorial and overbearing. He was fussy, meddlesome and over-officious at a time when the temper of the people, edged by their desperate trials, was least able to put up with his crotchets. He seems to have been a well-meaning person, intent only on setting everything and everybody to rights in his own way but his very sincerity made his ill-advised conduct of affairs the more exasperating to the unfortunates who had to suffer from it.

Such troubles as these are, however, negligible trifles in comparison with the pangs of hunger long endured, as very many of the people in New Amstel learned during those lean years.

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In March 1658 Alrichs wrote to Stuyvesant about the scarcity of provisions. In August he wrote again that they "were very much embarrassed for breadstuff or flour." In November he complained that he had no duffels with which to buy deer-meat or maize from the savages, that grain was very much needed, also peas and bacon. "If it is in any way feasible please to remember us on this occasion and provide us with as much of these provisions as can be spared somehow." Again, "there is a scarcity and lack of everything . . . provide us somewhat with grain, peas and bacon, as quickly as possible." This was in January 1659. In March there was the same cry.

In May he went fully into his difficulties. The Hollanders, even those who had been there several years, had "not gathered one skepel of grain." Sickness and bad weather had interfered with all work. Even the Swedes had had short crops because of wet weather. A cargo purchased from the Governor of Virginia had been appropriated by the skipper of the vessel, who "stole away with the yacht, being so victualled, to go a-privateering

and look for a good prize." Then came "a cruel and very long during winter . . . so that no vessel could be used."

Their straits had been narrow, indeed, for the inhabitants of New Amstel, but in the midst of their privation there were suddenly thrust upon them more than a hundred extra hungry mouths to be fed. The *Gulde Meulen* had brought over from Amsterdam a new consignment of emigrants with no provision for their sustenance. They landed in September 1658. There was in the colony for them neither adequate shelter from the rigor of that "cruel and very long during winter," nor enough food to sustain their strength. The only "granary and larder" upon which they could draw was New Amsterdam, and their demands upon it were heavy. The colonists suffered grievously, and there were "significant rumors afloat" that several had died of hunger.

To add to their distress came bad news from Amsterdam. The Burgomasters were tired of looking at ledger balances in red. Why could not outgo be kept down to a level with income? The Commissioners scanned the expense account. They could not reduce this nor that, but there was one class of items, expenditures under Article IX of the Conditions of Emigration, that attracted attention. The amount was large. Cut that out and the outgo would be substantially reduced. They cut it out by abrogating the Article.

Now Article IX was the one that promised the colonists free food, clothing and seed for one year, also a store of provisions and necessaries to be sold them at Amsterdam prices. The effect of its abrogation in a time of hunger in the colony can be easily imagined.

The Commissioners sought to justify this by blaming the colony's backwardness in agriculture upon the disinclination

of the colonists to work during their first year, the "Blessed Year" when they were fed for nothing. They told Alrichs that his people should have been "forced to work, by close-fistedness." They tried to soften the blow by making other changes in the Conditions to allow the colonists to export their produce to any country or port, instead of only to Amsterdam, but to men who had no goods to export this was little consolation. The already too great discontent was dangerously increased.

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Bad enough all this, but there was worse on top of it. Pestilence trod upon the heels of famine. In October 1657 Alrichs reported that his family and three or four of his "house-people" were ill and that a fever or other disease "prevailed in the colony very much, so that hardly a family was free from it, although nobody had died yet." Being of a malarial nature it seems to have abated during the winter, but in the following August "a general fever-like disease . . . raged" again, "prevailing much among the inhabitants." In September it was again reported as "a hot intermittent fever . . . with which the greater part of the inhabitants is burdened and kept down," and the barber-surgeon, Stidden, their only medical man, was dead.

Through the next two months the epidemic "raged badly." Almost all the people were sick, few "old ones" died but to "some respectable people" and many "young persons and children" it was fatal. Those who survived were "pining and low" and could only slowly regain their former health and strength. In January Alrichs's wife died.

During the prevalence of the disease little work could be done. All the labors of the house and farm were "at a still stand for many months." To aid the destitute the City offered

work on public buildings. The church was enlarged, a public granary and other buildings of like nature were built, but, to people so ill nourished and so wasted by disease, the offer of work was an offer of added torture.

To many the town was but a place of misfortune, sadness, disappointment, wasted effort and lost hope. Nothing could revive their confidence in it, nor their courage for further struggles against the curse that seemed to rest upon it. "The place had now got so bad a name that the whole river could not wash it clean." It was simply a place to get away from, and when, following these already unbearable misfortunes, the story got about that the Governor of Lord Baltimore's Maryland colony was about to start a campaign for the conquest of the South River territory, a panic fear seized the Dutch colonists. They began "to run away in numbers." In a single fortnight "50 persons, among them whole families ran away from there to Virginia and Maryland." At the last scarcely thirty families were left in New Amstel.

Stuyvesant was not exaggerating when he wrote to the Directors in Holland in September 1659 that the City's affairs on the South River were "in a very deplorable and low state," that it was to be feared that its colony "would be ruined altogether." Nor were the Directors unduly pessimistic when they regarded these desertions as "symptoms which threaten the total ruin of the colony."

CHAPTER XLVIII

OF RUMORS OF WAR

N THE fall of the year 1657 news came to Alrichs of certain prisoners held by the Indians at "the Horekil." They were Englishmen, no friends of the Dutch, but they were white men and it behooved all of the palefaces to stand together against the redskins. Alrichs made efforts to fulfil his obligations as a Christian man.

The first attempt to reach them failed. Because of "loss of an anchor" the rescue ship had to return without the captives. The second succeeded. Fourteen men were ransomed from the Indians, brought to New Amstel, refreshed with food and comforted with clothing, "they being naked and needy." So far, so good, but—what were fourteen Englishmen doing at Henlopen? That required some explaining.

It was simple enough, said the Englishmen. They were not trespassers nor had they any evil intent. They were merely fugitives from Virginia, runaway bondsmen seeking freedom, and they had been shipwrecked at Henlopen. Alrichs accepted the explanation and reported the facts to Stuyvesant and to the City's Commissioners in Amsterdam. The Commissioners

got together with the Company's Directors and talked the matter over.

Now Alrichs may have been a simple sort of fellow, easily taken in by these deceitful Englishmen, but the wise men at home were not so gullible. They saw through the trick. These pretended refugees were nothing else but the advance agents of those devilish southern Englishmen who coveted the South River. The Yankee English had apparently given over their attempts at intrusion, but here were the Virginians and Marylanders trying the same game. It was to be feared, the Directors concluded, "that the nation, [England] which at present, though without sufficient reasons, lays claim to the South-River or neighboring territory, may try to intrude there, and, by one chance or the other, usurpate the said places, as it has been done on the side of New England." Therefore Director Alrichs was to send them back again "and never and under no circumstances to receive again any one of the English nation." Effectually to secure the Henlopen territory against them Stuyvesant was ordered to buy from the Indians the land from the Cape to Boomtiens Hoeck for the City, which intended "to place there a suitable fortification" to hold it against "the arrogant audaciousness and faithlessness" of those English.

On behalf of the Company Mr. Willem Beeckman and on behalf of the City Lieut. Alexander d'Hinoyossa equipped themselves with "duffels, also coats for the savages, kettles, looking-glasses, knives, corals, trumpets etc.", and set out for Henlopen. The savages sold all the shore from the Cape to the Hoeck, extending indefinitely westward. Lieut. d'Hinoyossa posted himself there with twenty soldiers, and, in May 1659, the City found itself entrenched behind a breastwork of parch-

ment extending from the Cape to the Minquas Kill. Would those grasping Englishmen now keep hands off?

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It seemed they would not, or at least the Dutch at New Amstel thought they would not. Rumor, "as if the English pretended that this river or land by right belonged to them" and that they were going to take it, would not down. There were only "ten to fifteen" soldiers in the fort. Its history made doubtful its impregnability. There was vast uneasiness among the citizens.

The rumor grew, became more definite—"some preparations are made in the Virginias against us." People came from "Bear's or Godtfridt's Island" in Maryland and confirmed the report of preparations, adding, as make-weight, that war was already on between England and Holland and "that young Cromwell has been poisoned and is dead." A messenger was sent to Maryland to ask the return of some fugitive Dutchmen. As he did not know where the Governor lived he applied to Col. Nathaniel Utie on Bear's Island. He did not get the runaways, but he got some very plain words from the Colonel. "Lord Balthus Moor" had not "the least intention to abandon his desire" to have the River and orders had come from him to take it. When this news got on the streets of New Amstel there was "such a fright and disturbance among most of the inhabitants," as Alrichs wrote Stuyvesant, "that thereby all work has been stopped and every one endeavors to fly, to remove and look out for getting away in safety." This was in August 1659 and then it was that the wholesale desertions took place, as has been told.

There was a substantial basis for this affright. Governor Fendall of Maryland had written to "the Honorable Jacob

Alrike at Delaware" acknowledging a letter from Alrichs—"wherein you suppose yourself to be Governor of a people seated in a part of Delaware Bay, which I am very well informed lyeth to the southward of degree forty,"—refusing to "owne or acknowledge any for governor there" but himself, and requiring Alrichs "presently to depart forth of his lordship's province" or else to hold Fendall excused, if he used his "utmost endeavour to reduce that part of his lordship's province unto his due obedience under him." It was very near to an ultimatum.

And now rumor grew precise. There were five hundred Englishmen under marching orders in Maryland. It was amazing how near the truth this last story was. Knock off two ciphers from five hundred and you have five, the exact number that did come. In September they came, headed by the gallant Colonel Utie.

CHAPTER XLIX

OF A SWASHBUCKLER FROM MARYLAND

UST as "to write and read comes by nature" to some men, so there are those born to strut their hour upon the stage in gold lace and epaulettes, parade soldiers. Their swords may remain unfleshed, but the barking voice, the twirled mustache, the ominous eyebrow certify to their calling and election. Soldiers' clothes are as fitting habit to them as iridescent feathers to a peacock. Such a man was Nathaniel Utie.

His destiny was fulfilled when Governor Fendall raised him from the undistinguished body of the citizenry to the colonelcy of a militia regiment. "Under the Right Honble. Caecilius, Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Province of Maryland," he commanded all the forces raised "between the Coves of Patuxent River and the Seven Mountains." To be a chief military officer under an Absolute Lord is no mean distinction, as Colonel Nathaniel was well aware.

In August 1659 he was directed by the Governor and his Council, of which he also was a member, to "make his repaire to the pretended Governor of a People seated in Delaware Bay" and to give him to understand that he and his people were "seated within his Lop's. Province . . . and to require

them to depart the Province." He was further directed, "in case he should find opportunity, to insinuate unto the People, there seated," that, if they would desert to Maryland, they would be well received and kindly treated.

On an evening in the same month he came to New Amstel. There were five others with him, his brother, his cousin, an unnamed major, Jacob de Vrint and a servant, a suite in keeping with his dignity. Foppe Jansen Outhout, the tavern-keeper, doubtless gave them a professional welcome. To the other villagers they must have seemed omens of evil, fore-runners of the conquering cohorts yet to come.

Neither on that Saturday evening nor on the following day nor on the Monday or Tuesday after did Utie present his credentials to Governor Alrichs and ask for an interview. Those three days he and his men spent in spying out the town, in noting its inadequate defenses, its rickety fort. They tested the temper of the people, measured the extent of their dis-affection. Strolling leisurely about they talked through in-terpreter de Vrint with the citizens, "insinuating" the desir-ability of deserting to Maryland, a province whose power was so great that its emissaries dared so at their ease to explore the penetralia of the Dutch stronghold.

One can imagine the state of mind of the few remaining colonists during those three days, the growing fear of these intruders, who, with no permission asked or granted, poked here and pried there, ruffled through the streets, counted the empty houses, two out of every three of the hundred, asked questions, "insinuated" sedition, and all without hindrance or reproof. Fear must have softened to resignation and resig-nation to near hopelessness of withstanding these self-sufficient Englishmen.

And at night in the tavern there would be this alien group, in the middle of the room where the candles on the table lighted their faces, made them visible to the Dutchmen who huddled in the dark corners, peering at them doubtfully, suspiciously, listening to more talk of the safety of Maryland, the power of the Absolute Lord, talk that Jacob de Vrint translated for their benefit.

So it went on for three days and three nights. It is a wonder that there was enough heart and courage left in the village to keep it from outright and complete submission to the Absolute Lord, Caecilius. There was enough dissatisfaction with their own government, enough despair of better things under Alrichs, to have stirred most men to mutiny even without this added incitement. But, whether it was their native stolidity or their induced apathy or their distrust of the English or their loyalty to their flag that held them back, there was no such result. Utie might boast and threaten and cajole and insinuate to his soul's content, he could not move them. This little remnant stood fast. Dissatisfied, discouraged, alarmed, almost hopeless, they neither surrendered nor deserted.

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And all this time Alrichs did nothing. He let Utie and his men go about as they pleased, spying, sapping the morale of the people, "insinuating," unhindered. He should have arrested and held them on charges of espionage or, at the very least, bundled them out of the town and sent them packing back to their own province. There could be no proof of his incapacity and the utter demoralization of his government more conclusive than his supine conduct at this time.

On the following Wednesday, Utie demanded a hearing and it was granted. Alrichs "pressingly asked" Beeckman to come

over from Altena for the interview, on the ground that the Company, having guaranteed the City against loss, had "more to defend" than the City had. It is quite plain that Alrichs was in a blue funk.

The embassy was received by Alrichs, Beeckman, d'Hinoyossa and three others assembled in council, and Utie presented his credentials. This was the last chance the Dutchmen had to save the situation, in part at least. Colonel Nathaniel should have been shown the door without hesitation or ceremony, for he had no credentials worthy of consideration, hence no standing as envoy. As Stuyvesant afterwards wrote, the Englishmen failed to show "any lawful qualifications, commission or order from any state or government, but only a seditious cartabell in form of an instruction, but without inserting any time or place or where or from whom or in whose name, order or authority it was written, only subscribed 'Philip Calvert, Secretary.'" But New Amstel was panic stricken, its Director was a weakling, both he and d'Hinoyossa were "very much disturbed and afraid of the English," and the audacious interlopers were given all the rope they wanted.

Utie claimed the country for Lord Baltimore and ordered the Dutch to remove immediately or declare themselves subjects of his lordship. If they did not go willingly, Utie was not to be held responsible for "the harmless blood that might be spilt thereby."

This "appeared very strange" to the Dutchmen, they said, because they had been there a long time under the States-General and the Company. Utie did not know anything about any States-General, but only that Baltimore owned the land under grant from King James and King Charles, renewed by the Parliament, and he must indeed be excused for the

innocent blood to be shed. It was absolutely essential that he must be so excused. He was giving them this one chance to escape bloodshed. They were weak, their people had almost all run away, so why not yield? But all he wanted was an answer, "'Let it be as you please' (as if he wanted to say, it is all the same to me)." He would just as soon shed blood as not, provided it was definitely understood that it was not his fault.

The Dutchmen wanted to refer the matter to the "Lords-Principals in England and Holland." Utie waved all that aside. Then they asked time to hear from the Director-General. Three weeks would be enough. Utie had no authority to grant delay, but magnanimously undertook to do so on his own responsibility.

The Dutch council then prepared an answer in form. They recited Utie's pretensions, told him how "unexpected and strange" seemed to them such conduct on the part of Christians and neighbors, "to whom they had been so kind," and so on. They were "under the necessity of protesting" against his attempts to seduce their colonists, and so on. They declared their own peaceful and just intentions, their willingness always "to yield to those who have the best right." They trusted that Colonel Utie would "please to take all the premises into consideration and proceed no otherwise than as equity and justice require." They noted that the great Colonel had "allowed and granted the time at least of three weeks" in which to hear from General Stuyvesant. And they all signed this humiliating document, calling it "a Notification and Protest." If the army of five hundred had come and held them at sword's point, they could not have signed a more submissive letter. Their conduct through the entire affair was pusillanimous to the last degree.

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They had wanted to hear from Stuyvesant. They heard from him. "With no less sorrow than astonishment" he wrote, "have I seen . . . the frivolous demand of Nathaniel Utie and your Honors' not less frivolous and stupid answer . . . much more that your Honors have allowed the said Utie to sow his seditious and mutinous seed among the community there." It showed "bad reflection and discouragement, assenting to the demand made, giving at least to the demanding party great ardor and courage, while he rather deserved to be arrested as a spy and sent hither." "To deprive the aforesaid spy of all hope," he sends a commission, backed by "a certain number of soldiers . . . to put in order the policy and protection" of the colonies against any attack by the forces of the Right Hon[ble] Caecilius, Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Province of Maryland.

To this denunciatory epistle Beeckman replied, attempting to exculpate himself. He wrote that he was very much inclined to arrest Utie, even "proposed the same once or twice to Mr. Alrichs and Hynojossa," but that they asserted "that great mishap would arise therefrom, also a riot of the citizens, who were already against their Honors." So were the citizens of New Sweden "against" their governor, when they sought redress of grievances suffered at his hands, but he cured their disaffection by hanging their leader. It was well for Utie that Johan Printz was not governor of New Amstel.

From the point of view of the Dutch, Utie's conduct was indefensible. Looked at from the side of the Absolute Lord, it was altogether commendable. Utie had been sent to spy and to "insinuate" and finally to threaten, bulldoze and intimidate the Dutch, and he did exactly so. He was a braggart, a swashbuckler and a bully, an overbearing arrogant insolent bluffer,

an altogether unpleasant person. Nobody could possibly like the man, but that is no reason for condemning him for what he did at New Amstel. Maryland was a declared enemy of the Dutch colonies. If Utie could spy upon them, weaken them by demoralizing their people, "insinuate" sedition, he was entitled to do just that, subject, of course, to their equal right to arrest him and shut him up where he could do no mischief, or even to hang him for his seditious conduct. If they had not the courage to defend themselves in a proper manner, that was their fault, not Utie's.

CHAPTER L

OF A DIVIDED HOUSE

BEARING Stuyvesant's commission and leading sixty soldiers, Secretary Cornelis van Ruyven and Captain Martin Krygier arrived at New Amstel. They found the colony almost defenseless. There were in the garrison but eight privates, two cadets and one sergeant. There was little hope for resistance to attack, on the part of the citizens. They were "few in number and not inclined to fight, because the City had broken and curtailed the Conditions," by abrogating Article IX. The seed sown by Utie had fallen into good ground and brought forth fruit. It had ripened into sullen rebelliousness.

It might have been expected that the relief forces would have been received with joy, at least by the heads of government, Director Alrichs and Lieut. d'Hinoyossa. Alrichs had asked that this reinforcement be sent "*citissime*, without the least delay." But, at the very entrance of the new troops on the scene, they were obstructed. Captain Krygier, it must be said, was rather tactless. He was, no doubt, still disgruntled with Alrichs because of former ill-treatment. He now came with a commission from the great General to set things to rights over the head of his former superior. He had, moreover,

a soldierly contempt for the weak and disorganized provincial troops in the garrison, and he was superior in rank to their commander, d'Hinoyossa. Without presenting his commission, without even informing the Director of his arrival, he commanded the sergeant to open the gate of the fort, that his men might march in. The sergeant quite properly refused to take orders from any but his own commanding officer. He held the gate while sending word to d'Hinoyossa. Krygier would not be delayed. He repeated his order and made the sergeant comply with it.

When he had brought his men into the fort, he assumed command. He posted sentries and directed both the garrison and his own men to clean up the place and put it in order. But Sergeant Sterdeur of the garrison declined to obey. "I am forbidden by Mr. Alrichs and Lieutenant d'Hinoyossa to obey any other command than theirs," said he. Which reply sounded to the astonished Captain Krygier "like an extraordinary bassoon ringing in his ears."

The captain's methods were a trifle high-handed, but some co-operation on the part of the Director and the Lieutenant might have brought about harmony. They, however, were equally intractable. They upheld the soldiers of the garrison in their recalcitrancy, and d'Hinoyossa added that "nobody could command him or the City's soldiers." So, added to the little town's distresses, hunger, disease and the fear of foreign levy, were now domestic malice and the danger of internecine strife.

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Krygier and van Ruyven surveyed the situation and embodied their findings in a letter to Alrichs and his council. On their first coming, they had urged him to enlist soldiers

to provide a garrison of fifty men, but with no result other than an assurance, "words without consequence, that the utmost best had been done." Now they wrote that they were "yet to be told what utmost best, what endeavors, what zeal has been applied and whether a foot has been stirred by the City's officers. It has been announced to everybody by beat of drum, but nobody came." This reluctance on the part of the citizenry to respond to the call to arms the two commissioners attributed to their displeasure with the administration of the colony. Then they urged the calling in of the detachment at "the Horekil," where sixteen or eighteen men were stationed "only as a garrison of one or two houses (apparently built more for private design than for the good of the country)." And so they went on. Their troops must go home. It was Alrichs's duty to keep up the City's forces to protect the colony. If he did not do it, the blame for its loss would be on him. The discontent in the town was due to Alrichs's oppressions and so forth and so forth.

To this Alrichs wrote an elaborate reply, that is to say, he signed the reply, but it was pretty certainly not of his composition. Its intense vindictiveness was not in keeping with the character of rabbit Alrichs. In its snarling recriminations sounded a voice afterwards so often to be heard in the colony and so seldom otherwise than in strife and discord, the voice of d'Hinoyossa. This rejoinder asserted that the Company was "bound to protect" the City's colony, because of the duties paid it on the commerce of the port. It blamed the dissatisfaction of the citizens on van Ruyven and Krygier, charging them with receiving and believing unfounded complaints and with encouraging desertions to Manhattan. It denied any duty to keep up the garrison of fifty men, because the City was re-

quired to defend its colony only against the Indians, not against the English or Swedes, that obligation resting on the Company, which had guaranteed good title to the land conveyed. It quarreled with Krygier for his assumption of command over the City's soldiers. It defended Alrichs's refusal of permission to the colonists who had desired to leave. And so it went on, charging, complaining, protesting, denying, defending to the extent of four thousand words of ill-natured diatribe, emphasized by liberal underscoring, to all of which the commissioners made reply, without advancing a step toward settlement of differences.

Both sides were blamable in this controversy, the commissioners, van Ruyven and Krygier, for lack of tact and diplomacy in their approach, Alrichs and his council for the acrimonious pettifogging of their answer, through which one seems to see the shaken fists of red-faced angry men and to hear the loud voices of culprits trying to bolster a weak defense by shouting down their accusers. Back of it all, and perhaps the most to blame, was the lack of definition of the reciprocal rights and duties of City and Company in the colony. Each side could find pegs on which to hang charges of the other's neglect of duty, and each could make an apparently good showing that it owed no such duty. The result was a miserable wrangle which could have no satisfactory outcome. It was altogether a bad business.

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Among the instructions to van Ruyven and Krygier was an order to arrest Colonel Utie and "his second," if they returned to the colony for the answer promised at the end of three weeks, and to hold them until they could produce proper credentials "from any state, prince, parliament or lawful

government" entitling them to be treated otherwise than as spies. But Utie never came back for the answer. Van Ruyven and Krygier returned to Manhattan, and, Stuyvesant having taken charge of the controversy with Maryland through the despatch of an embassy to the Governor of that Province, the scene of action was shifted.

CHAPTER LI

OF THE EXPEDITION OF AN EMBASSY

N THE same day that Stuyvesant appointed his two agents to the New Amstel colony, he commissioned two others as envoys to Governor Fendall of Maryland. He instructed them to demand, "in a friendly and neighborly way," the return of such freemen and servants as had fled from the City's colony to Maryland, to promise to reciprocate this courtesy by doing the like for Fendall's deserters, but, if there was refusal or delay, to give notice that *lex talionis* would apply and all refugees from Maryland, "Servants and Negroes included," would be freely received in the Dutch colonies.

Secondly, the envoys were to represent to the Governor and his Council what had happened "in regard to the presumptious coming to the aforesaid Colony of New-Amstel of one Colonel Nathaniel Utie, who tried to subdue it and to induce . . . the inhabitants of said Colony to sedition and revolt" against their government. And that all this had been done without proper credentials, but "only manufactured instructions," and had been accompanied by threats "to bleed" the colony and to take it by force. The commission also asserted the right to hold and possess the River territory

under patent granted by the States-General and deeds from the Indians. It stated that any dispute between the Dutch and English with respect to ownership of the lands in question must be the subject of a reference, under the terms of the late treaty of peace between Holland and England, and demanded "right and justice" against Utie, with compensation for expenses incurred "through his frivolous demand and bloody threats."

It is to be noted that this document imposed on the envoys no duty and gave them no power to discuss the validity of the Dutch title to the Delaware land nor of Baltimore's claim thereto. All such discussion was distinctly reserved to the national governments of the two parties involved in the dispute. Nothing was to be sought but the return of fugitives and "right and justice" against Utie. It will also be seen, however, that the embassy did not confine its acts and discussions within the limits imposed.

The two envoys were Augustine Herrman and Resolved Waldron. Of Waldron little is known. His name sounds English, and Roundhead rather than Cavalier. It suggests grim features under an iron helmet. He was probably chosen for his ability to interpret between the English governor, Fendall, and the Bohemian envoy, Herrman.

Herrman was a native of Prague. He had lived as a merchant in New Amsterdam for some years. He had held various offices and in 1647 had been chosen one of the Nine Men, representatives of the citizens acting as advisers of the governor and his council. Later he removed to Maryland and became prominent in the history of that State as the Lord of Bohemia Manor. He was well educated, a surveyor by profession, and was somewhat skilled in the graphic arts. His intelligence,

acuteness of mind and capability in controversy were well displayed in the conduct of this embassage.

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With his companion, Waldron, and their "attached soldiers and guides," Herrman set out from New Amstel on September 30th on the journey to Patuxent, where they were to meet the English governor and his council. Patuxent was about ninety miles distant in a right line, but their road to it was long and devious. Through the forest, by paths and where there were no paths, they made their way to the Elk River. There they found an abandoned Indian canoe. Four of the party turned back. The two envoys, one Sander Ploeyer and an Indian guide embarked. The boat was soon half full of water. They landed, caulked its leaks "somewhat with old linen" and started again. By constant bailing they kept it afloat. They paddled down the Elk all that night, the second of their journey, reaching the mouth of the Sassafras by morning.

At the Sassafras they found a number of Swedes and Finns who had escaped thither during Printz's time. One Finn befriended them, making them a new pair of oars. Another was hostile, trying to take their canoe from them by threats and force, but they got away "with much ado."

They passed the island home of Colonel Utie, from which came the sound of "heavy volley firing . . . mingled with music," which they conjectured meant preparations for the attack on New Amstel. Sander Ploeyer had been detached at the Sassafras to gather and carry home information concerning military movements. Herrman and Waldron went on in their leaky boat, rowing by night or day as the tide served. On the fourth day they reached Kent Island where Captain Joseph Wicks, a magistrate, gave them a bed.

"Getting into discourse" with Wicks, they had their first rehearsal of the subsequent argument with Fendall, backing their pretensions to right by assertions that they had a hundred soldiers at New Amstel and would have a hundred more "in case of need." They got another boat from Wicks and rowed across to the mouth of the Severn. There they ran into another nest of fugitives from the Delaware colony, of whom they heard ill report. People who had harbored some of them complained that they "were utterly idle and lazy, and not worth their food; nay, they were too lazy to wash their own spoons and the plates which they ate off."

They heard that Colonel Utie was at his Severn plantation and were importuned by Wicks to call on him. But they had no desire to meet that amiable gentleman, so they pleaded the necessity of dispatch and their fears that the colonel would entertain them too elaborately and so delay them. On the sixth day they reached Patuxent, where Mr. Henry Coursey took them in. Again they discussed "my Lord Balthamoer's" right to the Delaware territory. Finally they arrived at Mr. Symon Overzee's, where they were to lodge during the conference. Mr. Philip Calvert, secretary of the province, dined with them there, and, for the third time, they rehearsed their argument.

This debate with Calvert was rather a lively affair. Calvert claimed for Baltimore the territory "along the sea from 38 to 40 degrees, wherein Delowar bay was also included." Herrman replied that the 40th parallel as a boundary of the Province ran eastward only to the Chesapeake. "Not so," said Calvert, "for it was expressly stipulated that we should extend to New England." "Where would New Netherland be in that case?" asked Herrman. "I don't know," replied Calvert. "Therefore,"

rejoined Herrman, "we, both of us, well know that such is a mistake."

Herrman piled on his arguments, the possession of New Netherland by the Dutch for years before Baltimore had his patent, the claim of Sir Edmund Plowden to Delaware Bay, as good a claim as Baltimore's. Calvert denied that Plowden's claim was valid, having been obtained fraudulently. "Hereupon," says Herrman, "we confounded him by his own words," by saying it was not certain that Lord Baltimore's claim was not obtained by fraud and misrepresentation of the condition of affairs on the Bay, for the King of England would not have granted land to Baltimore, if he had known the Dutch were already seated there.

Three or four days they spent drawing up their proposals. One day they dined again with Mr. Secretary Calvert and again debated the question, with Rev. Francis Doughty, a Presbyterian minister. They worked over the old claims and counterclaims, the "discourses running higher and higher," until Mr. Doughty became "half angry." Diplomatically, then, they "left off" and "conversed on other subjects and parted from one another with expressions of friendship." After all these preliminary bouts, they were well prepared for the match with the Governor and his Council.

CHAPTER LII

OF A DECLARATION BY WAY OF A SPEECH

THE official meeting took place at Mr. Bateman's at Patuxent. Governor Fendall, Secretary Calvert and six Councillors, including Colonel Utie, dined with them there, and "during dinner a varied conversation was held." But when the cloth was off, the battle royal was on.

Herrman opened with a "Declaration and Manifestation by way of Speech," which he had prepared and which was Englished by Mr. Symon Overzee. He claimed for the "Lords of the West Indy Company of Amsterdam" the province of New Netherland, "latituded from Degree 38 to about 42 by the Great Ocean Sea and from thence 200 [miles] . . . Northerly up to the River of Canada, on the West side Virginia and now Maryland Upon the great Bay of Chesopeake, and on the East New England," a sufficiently comprehensive, if somewhat puzzling description.

He asserted rights thereto in the Dutch, derived, first, from "the King of Spaine, as then Subiects or Vassalls to the first finder and fundator of that New World," the said King having renounced and given over "to the United Republick of the Seven provinces aforesaid [to wit the Dutch Republic] all his

Right and Tytle of those Countreys and Dominions they have then in process of tyme Conquered and Seated in Europe, America or Elsewhere whereof the aboves[d] province of the New Netherlands, the Ilands of Curacoe and Brasille became the true proper inheritances to the Dutch nation in those parts in that respect." The language is the English of Mr. Overzee to whom some part, at least, of the credit for its interesting complication must be allowed.

Having thus gone back to the time of Columbus for the origin of the Dutch rights, Herrman could well believe—Leif Erickson being yet below the horizon of history—that Fendall could not antedate him.

"Secondly," he recited that "the ffrench were in the yeare of our Lord God Almighty 1524 the Second followers of the Discovery in the Northerne parts of this America by Jehan de Verazzano a fflorentine" and that they were followed by the English and the Dutch, the English in Virginia "by Distinct pattents from the Degree 34 to about 38," the Dutch in "the Manhattans from 38 to 42." He showed that New England ran from 42 to 45, that Spain held "the West Indies or Mexico" and Portugal, Brazil. "And thus is this New World divided amongst the Christian princes of Europe."

He urged that King James's requirement that New England and Virginia "should remaine asunder" a hundred leagues was intended to give room for the Dutch territory, "called by the Generall name of Manhattans," which did not mean only "a little Iland" but the whole province of New-Netherland.

He recited the Dutch settlement "called the Hoore Kill," that is the Zwaanendael colony, where the colonists were "all slained and murthered by the Indians so that the possessions and propriety of this River at the first in his Infancy is Sealed

up with the bloud of a great many Sowles." He did not give the date of that settlement, 1631, but ingeniously pre-dated it by referring to the building of Fort Nassau in 1623 as being later than Zwaanendael.

He claimed also "the propriation and just Right and Tytle of that whole River" through conveyances from "the Naturall proprietors, the Native Indians, especially the Western Shore." "By vertue of all Which & and the Right and Tytles above mentioned," he boldly stated, "wee have allwaies maintained and Defended the said River against all Usurpers and Obstructers as it is publickly knowne to this Day, and shall doe for Ever." Printz and Rising might have made interesting comments on this point had they been there. Hearing Herrman, one would suppose there had never been a Swede on the River.

"Thirdly," he dwelt upon the old time friendship and neighborliness of the Dutch and English colonies, unbroken until this pestiferous Colonel Utie had come and demanded "in a strange way" that the Dutch surrender their territory, "going from howse to howse to seduce and draw the Inhabitants to rebell and fall from their Right Lawfull Lords Soveraigne Government," threatening "Armes, fire and Sword," the plunder of the town, all so contrary to the "Amity Confederacy and Peace" between England and the United Provinces established in 1654.

Herrman then made two demands; justice and satisfaction for Utie's misconduct and the return of "all the Dutch and Swedes people Subjects Runawayes and fugitives."

He then proceeded to "a little discourse to the supposed Claimes or pretence of my Lord Baltemores Pattent unto our aforesaid Sowth River." He utterly denied, disowned and rejected any right in the Absolute Lord and his men to reduce

or subdue the said River, except as "breakers of the peace and Actors as publick Enemies which rests onely upon their strength and self will." Baltimore's title was only "about 24 or 27 years" old and not even so good as "S[r] Edmund Ploythen's," which everyone knew was "onely subreptiff and obreptiff" and entirely invalid. If Baltimore had any claim, he should have brought it before the Commission appointed by England and the Dutch Republic in 1652 to hear such differences.

"Lastly and finally to Conclude," he proposed a commission of "three Rationall persons in each Side"—thus plainly barring Colonel Utie—to meet "about the Middle, of betweene the Bay of Chesepeake and the aforesaid Sowth River or Delaware Bay at a Hill lying to the Head of Sassafrax River and another River coming from our [South] River all most neere together," there to fix a north and south line for a boundary between New Netherland and Maryland. Thus Herrman first suggested the boundary which many years afterward was fixed and established.

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When Herrman had ended his speech, he thought he "perceived a great change, for some of the Council, as it seems, had no correct knowledge" of the history of the conflicting claims. But Fendall exhibited no sign of a change of heart. He entered upon an argument intended to justify the mission of Utie and the credentials he bore.

To the fire-eating Utie all this talk was quite distasteful. What was the use to discussing rights and such like piffle? He "began to bluster." "My acts," he wanted everybody to know, "were directed against a people that had intruded into my

Lord Baltimore's province and if the Governor and Council will again command me, I'll do again as I did before."

"If you do," responded Herrman, "you will lose the name of ambassador and be dealt by as a disturber of the public peace."

So they wrangled back and forth. "You threatened to send me to Holland. I only wish you'd done that." How did they want him to behave? He had sent two men to announce his approach and then had put up at the public tavern. Was he not to walk out and see the place and talk with the people who wanted to talk to him?

He was at liberty to see the place and talk with the people, Herrman answered, but not to excite them to revolt and rebellion, nor threaten them with being plundered and driven off if they did not surrender.

"So that these criminations and recriminations being bandied somewhat sharply and angrily, especially by the colonel, the Governor was pleased to put a stop to him."

Fendall then, still keeping away from the question of their respective rights, told Herrman that he should have asked Utie's permission before coming into the Province. Utie broke in again, told them that they ought to have stopped at his island, and that, if they had, they would not have got any further. One of the councillors then intervened with kindly expressions of regret that the envoys had not been furnished with a better boat than the leaky canoe in which they had come and the debate ended. They passed "the remainder of the evening over a glass of wine."

CHAPTER LIII

OF TWO MAGIC WORDS

THE next morning the Governor, to prove Lord Baltimore's right to the Delaware territory, produced the patent from the king giving him the country up to the 40th parallel and left it with Herrman and Waldron to examine, while he and the Council went to hold court at the next plantation. The Dutch envoys started to read the Latin document.

"*Rex &c Omnibus ad quos &c salutem. Cum predilectus et perquam fidelis Subditus noster Cecill Calvert Baro de Baltimore*" and so on. They struggled through the jungle of legal and royal phraseology and learned that the well-beloved and ever faithful Baron of Baltimore had been inspired with the laudable purpose of extending the domain of the Christian religion and His Majesty's Kingdom; that he had supplicated the king to grant to him a certain thereinafter described region of America—"*certam quandam Regionem inferius describendam in terra quadam in partibus Americe*"—what's this?—"*hactenus inculta et barbaris nullam divini Numinis noticiam habentibus in partis occupatis!*"—"Hitherto uncolonized and occupied in part by barbarians having no notice of the divine Deity!" So

that was it! So that was His Majesty's intention—to grant only land hitherto uncolonized and still occupied by savages. Well, well, that put a new face on the whole matter, for the Delaware territory was not then *inculta*. There was Zwaanendael—or there had been. There was Fort Nassau—or there had been. Not there, maybe, on the date of the grant, June 20th 1632, for Zwaanendael had been destroyed and Nassau abandoned before that perhaps. Still they had been there before, and, anyhow, we won't go into details, we'll rest on His Majesty's intention, on which the whole document was based.

They set to work to formulate a new argument, a most convincing argument, nay, a complete refutation of the Absolute Lord's claim.

"We repeate and reply our former Declaration and manifestation . . . and say further" (A new paragraph now for the knock-out!)

"That the Originall fundation of the aforesaid Pattent Sheweth and maketh appeare that my Lord Baltemore has hath to his Royall Ma^{ty} of England petitioned for a Countrey in the parts of America which was not seated and taken up before, onely inhabited (as hee saith) by a Certaine Barbarous people the Indians. Upon which ground his Royall Ma^{ty} did grant and Confirme the said Pattent." But long before this "our Sowth River, of Ould called Nassaw River," had been "taken up appropriated and purchased" under authority of the States-General. "Therefore is his Royall Ma^{ties} intention and Justice not to have given and Granted that parte of a Countrey which before was taken in possession and seated by the Subjects of the High and Mighty States Generall of the united provinces. . . . Soe that the Claime my Lord

Baltemores Pattent speakes of, to Delaware Bay or a part thereof . . . is invallid."

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The Governor and Council returned in the afternoon and they all had supper together, the Dutch envoys happy in the knowledge of their impending victory, the English happy in their ignorance. Supper over, the new memorandum was read aloud. "Whereupon we perceived another change and the Governor made his defense."

It was not much of a defense. It was a mere assertion that the king knew what he was doing and intended to include Delaware Bay. "Then he demanded a view of our patent to New Netherland or Delowar Bay." Herrman replied that he did not have to show it at that time, and that all he wanted was to arrange for a future meeting of deputies on both sides, as he had suggested in his declaration. All the Governor could say was that he need not have exhibited his patent either, "from which we concluded that they regretted having discovered and exposed themselves so far."

There were further arguments, not much to the purpose. The Marylanders presented a written reply to the original declaration of the envoys. It defended Utie, insisted on "the Originall Right of the Kings of England to these Countreys and Territoryes," declared that the pretended Dutch title to the Delaware country was "utterly none" and their patent (if they had any) from the States-General "voide and of noe effect," and it declined to yield up indebted fugitives, on the ground that the courts of Maryland were open to their creditors and their justice speedy and denied to none.

That was the answer, all they had to say. Herrman asked whether the Dutch could safely send their soldiers back to

Manhattan. "Please yourselves and we'll do as we think best." He asked whether his side might expect "notice and warning that friendship is at an end" before any attack was made, "as is usual in public and open war . . . To which they rejoined: that they would act therein as would be most advisable." The Marylanders seem to have been a bit sulky at the termination of the conference, or, at least, to have felt their rights not so securely founded as to permit them to make any concessions or arrangements whatever. Herrman thought "that were it in their power they would willingly incline to a friendly agreement, but that they must first have authority to that effect from Lord Balthamoer." Meanwhile they had to stand to their guns.

The conference ended, Waldron went back to Stuyvesant with the reports and documents. Herrman "set out for Virginia to ascertain the opinions of the Governor and others there concerning this matter, and thus to create some diversion between them both."

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No understanding resulted from this conference, no treaty nor even any arrangement looking toward future parleys. Nevertheless, it may well be believed that it was not barren of results favorable to the Dutch. Their envoys had shown themselves capable of standing up to the Governor and Council of Maryland on even terms. Their firmness and determination not to yield to the demands of Baltimore, in contrast with the lack of these qualities by the Director at New Amstel, must have impressed the Marylanders with the seriousness of the situation and convinced them of their inability to take over the River territory by merely demanding its surrender and

without resort to force, which they were not yet authorized nor able to employ.

In debate Herrman had shown himself more than a match for the English. The acuteness of his argument, the readiness with which he seized upon *hactenus inculta* and the cogency of the reasoning he based upon that phrase found them incapable of adequate rejoinder. The members of the Council, with the exception of short-tempered Fendall and blustering Utie, were courteous and urbane, but the envoys equalled them in tact and overmatched them in shrewdness.

Whether *hactenus inculta* was quite as decisive an answer to Baltimore's pretensions as Herrman contended is a debatable question. It is not merely debatable, it was actually debated for a century.

By the proponents of Baltimore's claim it was urged that the phrase had no influence nor power to countervail the precise and definite description of the lands granted, which ran, without question, up to the 40th parallel and included the whole of the present State of Delaware; that even if the Dutch had settlements on the River before the date of Baltimore's patent, the King of England would not have regarded them, having no tenderness toward the Dutch and being resolute to maintain his claim to the whole continent by right of Cabot's discovery; that, in short, the preamble was merely an opening flourish, not to be regarded as expressing the basic intention of the patent.

By its opponents, stress was laid upon the phrase, as clearly limiting the King's intention. It was argued that, if he had known that the west shore of the Delaware had already been colonized by a European nation, as was assumed to be the fact, he would not have included it in the grant; that his

belief to the contrary was induced by Baltimore's misstatement that it was hitherto uncolonized, either through ignorance, a mistake of fact, or through intentional misrepresentation, a fraud, and therefore, in either case, the grant was vitiated, at least as to the Delaware territory.

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On the basis of the document alone, having no regard to extraneous possibilities or probabilities, and on the assumption that the west shore was *culta* at the time, it would seem that the phrase must be regarded as showing the limits of the King's intention. It appears in the preamble, which is evidently designed to state the motive and intent of the whole document. That the granted territory was in fact *inculta* is the foundation of the King's assumed right to grant it. By the frequently quoted principle laid down by Queen Elizabeth as part of the law of nations, the King's right to the River and Bay shores had been lost through the failure of the English actually to possess it before the Dutch took hold of it. To take it from them would be a hostile act, justly provocative of war between the two nations. To go so far merely to please Baltimore would seem to have been unintended. Herrman's argument, then, seems well founded and the better of the two.

All this, however, is based on the assumption that, at the time of the grant to Baltimore, the Dutch were actually seated on the River, so as rightly to defeat his claim. If this assumption is not supported by the actual fact, the whole argument against Baltimore's claim falls to the ground. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Dutch West India Company had no patent from the States-General granting it any specific land or territory whatever. It had merely a charter giving it trading rights and authorizing colonization, but not in any particular

place, certainly not in lands possessed or rightly claimed by other friendly European nations. It had, therefore, no paper title to oppose to Baltimore's. Its rights on the River must depend altogether on the facts of settlement and possession prior in time to the supposed acquisition of the land by Baltimore.

Thus it appears that the title of both Dutch and English depended on a question of fact, namely, was this land on June 20th 1632 within the meaning of the words, *hactenus inculta?* What were the actual facts?

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It had been colonized at Zwaanendael in 1631. If that colony was in existence in June 1632, the question is settled, the River was then *culta*. But, when de Vries came back in December 1632, he found that the colony had been wiped out by the Indians. When? No one knows whether it was before or after June 20th. As the burden of proof would be on the Dutch to defeat Baltimore's paper title, how does this uncertainty leave them?

Assuming the destruction of Zwaanendael before June 1632, consider now the effect de Vries's having brought with him reinforcements and supplies for the colony and his actual reinstatement of it in December and its continuance as an established colony until March 29th of the next year, when it was abandoned. De Vries's return with new men is evidence of an intention actually existing in the minds of the Patroons to keep the colony going. His final abandonment of it in March was not a result of the massacre of the first colonists, but of a conviction that the whale-fishing, on which the colony's hopes were based, would not prove profitable.

It appears, therefore, that the River was settled by the

Dutch in 1631 with an intention of permanency, and that that intention persisted until March 1633. The interruption of actual occupancy caused by the massacre was merely accidental. It would not afford an opportunity to Baltimore to slip in with his patent in June and claim the place as *inculta*. It would be as logical to say that, if the house of the colonists had been burned and they with it on June 19th, Baltimore's patent would be good on the 20th, even though a ship with new people and supplies arrived on the 21st and rebuilt and restored the colony.

Nor could the subsequent abandonment of Zwaanendael in March 1633 aid Baltimore's title. It must be tried as of June 20th 1632 and, if prior possession by the Dutch, their fixed intention of holding permanently, their re-establishment of it in December are enough to prove the land *culta* before and through June 1632, as it would seem they should be, then Baltimore got no title to it on the 20th, and no subsequent abandonment could alter that fact.

This may seem a rather fine-drawn argument, yet it seems that, taking the patent as it stands, construing it according to the ordinary rules of legal construction and applying it to the actual facts, it fairly supports the opposition to Baltimore's claim. The King's intention in law is to be ascertained from the paper itself and not from extraneous facts and circumstances. It may be that Charles I had no actual intention of regarding the rights of the Dutch or any other nation, any more than Charles II afterward regarded the rights of Winthrop, to whom Connecticut had been granted, or the rights of the Dutch long settled at Manhattan, when in 1664 he granted the western half of Connecticut and all of New Netherland to the Duke of

York. That may all be true, yet the expressed intent in the preamble may prevail in law and defeat Baltimore's claim.

And, in fact, it was those two words, *hactenus inculta*, that did defeat Baltimore.

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The grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn in 1680 and his purchase of the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware from the Duke of York brought the question of Baltimore's boundaries to an acute stage. It came before the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations in 1685 for settlement. Their Lordships found "that the Land intended to be granted by the Lord Baltemore's Patent was only Land uncultivated and inhabited by savages, and that this Tract of Land now in dispute was inhabited and planted by Christians at and before the Date of the Lord Baltemore's Patent as it hath been ever since up to this time." Wherefore they recommended an equal division of the peninsula from the 40th parallel down to the latitude of Cape Henlopen by a north and south line, following exactly the suggestion Herrman had made to Fendall, and it was so ordered by his Majesty in Council.

Nevertheless, the matter dragged on and was not finally settled until 1750, when Lord Chancellor Hardwicke decided that an agreement between the respective heirs of Penn and Baltimore making this delimitation, must be enforced. In the course of this suit the plaintiffs, the Penns, had alleged that Lord Baltimore had deceived the King into the belief that all this land was *inculta*, "whereas it was not so, but possessed by the Dutch and Swedes." The Lord Chancellor said, "In these [wild] countries it has been always taken that that European country, which has first set up marks of possession, has gained the right, though not formed into a regular colony

. . . Then will not that affect this grant? If the fact was so, that would be as great deceit on the crown in notion of law as any other matter arising from the information of the party; because such grants tend to involve this crown in wars and disputes with other nations; nor can there be a greater deceit than a misrepresentation tending to such consequence; which would be a ground to repeal the patent."

It is futile to argue that the Committee on Trade and Plantations and the Privy Council feared to antagonize the Duke of York, so soon afterwards to become King James II, by deciding against his claim and in favor of Baltimore's. Admit that such was the case or that they were mistaken in fact as to the River shore having been inhabited by Dutch or Swedes before that time, and still the fact remains that on *hactenus inculta* they did pivot their decision, and that those two words derived their force and effect only from the one settlement on the west shore of the Delaware prior to the date of Baltimore's grant, the Zwaanendael colony. It is quite immaterial to the argument that they may have decided wrongly or mistakenly or unjustly or that they were improperly influenced by their tenderness for royalty. They did so decide and on that ground. Such is the incontrovertible fact. But for those two words and Zwaanendael to give them force, the Three Lower Counties might have, pretty certainly would have, gone to Baltimore, become a part of Maryland and so remained to this day. Bancroft, the historian, was not wrong when he said, "The voyage of Heyes [to colonize Zwaanendael] was the cradling of a State. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to this colony."

CHAPTER LIV

OF ALEXANDER THE LITTLE

DIRECTOR ALRICHS had for a long time been ailing. On the thirtieth day of December 1659, being aware of the approach of death, he called to his bedside Lieut. Alexander d'Hinoyossa, Gerrit van Sweeringen, the *schout*, and Commissary Cornelis van Gezel. He appointed the lieutenant his successor as director and the other two as councillors, to hold office until the Commissioners in Holland should name their successors.

Alrichs took the hands of these men in his and adjured them to perform their duties faithfully and to act together in good faith toward each other. D'Hinoyossa was deeply moved. He spoke affectionately to the dying man, praised him for his service to the colony, hoped that God might yet spare his life and promised that he, Alexander d'Hinoyossa, would ever be foremost in the defense of the honor and reputation of Jacob Alrichs. And so the Director died.

Twenty-four hours later, in the same room, where still lay the dead body of their friend, d'Hinoyossa and van Sweeringen were at work rummaging through his papers and books, look-

ing for evidence which they might use to defame him and cast reproach upon his name.

D'Hinoyossa called the *schepens* together, read to them Alrichs's instructions from the Commissioners and his letters to them, charged him with disobedience to his superiors and general malfeasance, declared him guilty of misconduct meriting the forfeiture of property and life, announced his intention of seizing all the dead man's property for the City's use and asked the *schepens* to sign an approval of his proposed action. But many of the acts complained of had been authorized by the *schepens*. Condemning themselves did not appeal to them. They refused to do it. Again d'Hinoyossa convened them and demanded their concurrence, again they refused. A third and a fourth time he summoned them. At last they refused to appear, saying they would rather be discharged from office than to declare an honest man a villain. He arrested one of them and took him to the fort to wring from him evidence of Alrichs's misdoing. Unsuccessful, he discharged the three *schepens* and appointed others.

Disappointed in this direction, he turned on Commissary van Gezel, who was Alrichs's nephew and heir. He accused him of having prevailed on the *schepens* to refuse compliance with his requests. Charging him with mutiny on this account, he arrested him, removed him from his offices of councillor and secretary of the colony, seized his property, as well as all the books and papers of Alrichs, and put a bailiff in his house. He threatened to deport him to Holland, and so harried and hounded poor van Gezel that he had to fly to Altena and pray to Beeckman to "protect him from d'Hinoyossa's violence." Whereupon d'Hinoyossa denounced him as a bankrupt and a fugitive from justice.

Van Gezel's wife was able to escape from New Amstel with most of the family goods, but had to "leave her child, 4 months old, behind her, not to be discovered by its crying." But the Director was not to be foiled in his pursuit of the wicked van Gezels. He arrested the child and held it prisoner for three days. Certainly, as Beeckman wrote, he went "to work quite rigorously." The van Gezel family, however, at last escaped to Manhattan.

This was not an important episode in the history of the colony, but it is significant as a fair sample of the morals, methods and manners of the man who was to govern New Amstel and, later, Altena and the rest of the River as well, for the few years remaining before the curtain fell on the drama of the Dutch on the Delaware.

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Van Gezel and the reputation of the dead Alrichs were not the only victims of d'Hinoyossa's oppressions. There were complaints of his injustice and tyranny from many of the colonists. In small matters affecting individual people as well as in matters involving the whole colony, he was quite the irresponsible autocrat.

He took from Willem van Diemen the plough that Willem had "had made by Jan Tonesen, the carpenter," and the ox that Willem had "bought from Mr. Andrichs on the second day of the year" and the canoe that Willem had bought from Peter Coock, so Willem could neither plough nor go a-fishing and, despite his harmlessness, must live in great disorder and affliction in regard to this "Mr. Inyoese," who damaged him in everything, as is set forth in a petition presented in "all sorrowful humility" by Willem's wife to Director Stuyvesant.

He interdicted all trading on the River from "Boompiers

Hoock to Cape Hinlopen," a monopoly of which he attempted to give to Peter Alrichs, nephew of Jacob, whom he made commander at "The Horekil." He took the palisades from the fort to make firewood for his brewery, and he sold all the public property for which he could find a purchaser, "even to the powder and musket balls from the magazine." He tried to sell the very buildings in the fort.

Beeckman, trying to govern the Company's colony with one hand and to function as its representative in its affairs at New Amstel with the other, had both hands more than occupied. Alrichs had been hard to deal with. This new Director ran entirely wild.

He was bad enough as Acting Director under Alrichs's deathbed nomination, but, when the Commissioners made him officially Director, megalomania beset him. He threatened to fine heavily anyone who spoke ill of him. He so strutted and plumed himself that people, discreetly and behind his back, called him "little prince" and "his majesty."

He set himself up as equal to and independent of Beeckman in the matter of control of the port, demanding of the skippers that they lower their colors before his fort and submit their invoices to him. He declined to recognize writs from Beeckman's Court and called himself the Chief Justice.

He refused also to recognize the superior jurisdiction of Stuyvesant's court of appeal. When it issued a mandamus to compel him to surrender the books and papers of Alrichs, he refused to obey it, declaring that he was "not to be imposed upon any longer by those at the Manhattans with their mandamuses, ecclesiastical laws and statutes." He proclaimed in the tavern, after "sprinkling around a little wine out of his glass with his finger, 'If I could poison or drown them with as little

wine as this, I should not use a spoonful to do it . . . I will go and fetch here the English or them from Portugal, the Swede or the Dane, what the Devil do I care whom I serve. Tell that to them of the Manhattans.'"

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Two "so-called Christians," in Stuyvesant's phrase, one a Dutchman, the other a Swede or Finn, killed three Indians, a man, a woman and a boy. It was a "cruel murder . . . not committed in haste and under the influence of liquor, but with deliberation and intent, solely from damnable covetousness . . . desire for wampum." Stuyvesant was shocked by "the hideousness of the affair" and sent the Councillor and Fiscal, Nicasius de Sille, to New Amstel to prosecute the murderers, who were known and had been arrested, before a court especially constituted of Beeckman, d'Hinoyossa and four others.

Arriving at New Amstel, de Sille found that, although the evidence against them was so complete that it included their own confessions, d'Hinoyossa had arraigned, tried and acquitted them. De Sille felt powerless to try them again, and they went entirely unpunished.

Two or three soldiers from Altena, after spending the evening in Foppe Jansen Outhout's tavern in New Amstel, walked up the street singing. Another soldier, earlier that day, had had some words with Gerrit van Sweeringen, the *schout*, and had threatened him with a sword. As these others passed van Sweeringen's house, he opened the upper half of the door and called out to them, "'What do you run on the street here for to lord it?' . . . They answered thereupon, 'Surely, we may travel on this street. We do no harm to anybody nor do we lord it.' The sheriff replied, 'You do play the masters and have just placed a sword against my breast.'" They denied that

they had done so. There were further words. Then the *schout* fired his gun at them "over the lower door." Thereupon, one of them, Harmen Hendrickson of Deventer, cried "Comrade, hold me up well and bring me home. I am wounded." And so he was, with a load of swan-shot in his abdomen, whereof he died. Van Sweeringen's defense was that he had shot the wrong man. It was his mistake, and he was sorry for it. D'Hinoyossa protected him in every way. He temporarily removed him from his office as *schout*, but continued him as councillor. Stuyvesant urged him to bring van Sweeringen to trial, but he delayed and delayed, postponing it on every possible excuse. The murderer was never tried and was shortly restored to his former office of sheriff.

Beeckman could do nothing with d'Hinoyossa, and Stuyvesant rather less. Every time the Director-General tried to drive him, he backed. The division of authority over New Amstel between City and Company created an intermediate twilight zone, where neither had exclusive authority, and d'Hinoyossa disported himself in this middle ground, disdaining all other claims of authority there. Nothing could be done with him by direct appeal or command. Stuyvesant could only address his complaints to the College of XIX and ask them to ask the City's Commissioners to make their Director mend his ways, a tedious process of circumlocution as ineffective as it was slow.

CHAPTER LV

OF THE TRIUMPH OF THE UNJUST

STUYVESANT wrote about d'Hinoyossa's persecution of van Gezel, about a flagrant abuse of power in convicting, fining, imprisoning and finally banishing one van Marcken, charged with mutiny on account of a single offensive remark. He reported the barbarous murder of the three Indians and d'Hinoyossa's discharge of the murderers. And he got very little change out of the Directors.

They upheld d'Hinoyossa in his conduct in the matter of Alrichs's estate and his pursuit of van Gezel. Because the court that Stuyvesant had commissioned to try the murderers had taken no further action against them after d'Hinoyossa had acquitted them, the Directors declared it had concurred in the acquittal. Since the friends of the murdered Indians "had been satisfied by an agreement and composition," the XIX could not understand why Stuyvesant and his Council took the matter "so very much to heart and . . . scolded the provisional Director . . . in so bitter and indigestible expressions." They declared that van Marcken's "action was not to be excused, but deserved punishment, even though it was badly contrived

by the City's officers and not in accordance wirh the customs and rules of law."

They declared Stuyvesant's interference in these matters, through his superior court, had a "tendency of vilifying and belittling those magistrates, who are thereby put up as butts for everybody's mockery, and who are deprived of the desire, courage and power to perform their duties properly." They said all this had made a very bad impression on the Burgomasters and they strictly commanded the Director-General and his Council "to act henceforth with more caution and discretion in such affairs and rather to intercede on similar occasions with arguments and friendly warnings," and so forth, in a fine and fatuous strain of misplaced moralizing.

This slap in the face, for having done no more than their plain duty required them as magistrates and conscientious men to do, was as unexpected by Stuyvesant and his Councillors, as it was undeserved. They protested against "such a sharp rebuke and censure" for having acted as judges in the matter of van Gezel, "impartially and without regard to persons." The murder of the Indians, they still thought, demanded capital punishment, "unless a distinction is made between the murder of savages and that of Christians." They denied that their specially constituted court had concurred in the acquittal. It had merely ceased to function when it found the case had been already decided.

Coming to the van Marcken case and the dictum of the College of XIX that they "would have done better not to meddle with it," Stuyvesant's exasperation, because of the injustice of their censure and his indignation at the immorality of the advice, overcame his self-restraint. He was eloquent in his appeal for fair treatment.

"Honorable worships! it surpasses our conception to understand how to avoid such proceedings and the reproaches following them, how to satisfy your Honors and the parties to the suit, without exposing ourselves to blame for refusing a hearing and justice as long as it is your Hon^ble Worships' order and pleasure that appeals are to be brought before your Honors' humble servants, and we declare with good conscience that, in this and the above mentioned case, we have not aimed at nor intended anything else but what we, in our humble opinion, judged to be just, equitable and our duty: God the Omniscient is the witness for it!"

To which the worthy XIX, sitting afar off and high in the seats of the mighty, responded with that Olympian calm, which is so damnably exasperating to its helpless victim. "We will neither approve nor disapprove your Honors' arguments and excuses on our reprimands in regard to the proceedings instituted there against the City's officers, but let the matter rest there for the present at least and will only recommend most earnestly to your Honors to be careful henceforth and abstain from giving any more causes for just complaints to them, because it is not advantageous for the Company to get into difficulties about it with their Worships, the Burgomasters here: your Honors will govern yourselves accordingly."

"Any *more* causes for *just* complaints!" If Peter Stuyvesant and his Council did not, at this omnibus condemnation of all their efforts to uphold the law and administer impartial justice, let their angry passions rise until they overflowed in a good sound cursing of the Gentlemen XIX, they were either more or less than human.

But they could not do anything to better the situation. When van Sweeringen, after he killed the singing soldier, was pro-

tected by d'Hinoyossa, Stuyvesant could only report the facts and ask "what administration of law and justice is to be expected from those who, instead of punishing the delinquent according to his deserts . . . become themselves his advocates and protectors." Unembarrassed, the Directors in Holland blandly informed him that, after examination of the reports *pro* and *contra*, the "Worshipful Administration" of Amsterdam had decided that it was "done only in self-defense and *ex officio* and therefore have reinstated the Sheriff . . . this matter must rest there and your Honors are herewith delivered and released from your troubles" concerning it.

That was the way things went with d'Hinoyossa's fight for unbridled power and Stuyvesant's battle to hold him within the bounds of law and justice. Stuyvesant could not prevail over the enemy in front, when his own Directors in Holland spiked his every gun. The battle was lost. D'Hinoyossa did as he pleased.

CHAPTER LVI

OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE COLONIES

HAT all was not well with their colony on the South River became at last apparent even to the Worshipful Burgomasters. It had been an expensive adventure from the beginning, and it had grown more and more troublesome. They wanted to end both the expense and the annoyance. They queried "in what manner the city would be most suitably freed from the burthen of the aforesaid colony," and the obvious answer seemed to be to hand the little stranger back to its own parents, the West India Company. Could that be done?

It could not, not if the Company was aware of it. The child had been adopted by the City and there was no welcome awaiting it in its former home. In fact, the Company had been contemplating an exactly opposite move. Instead of taking back New Amstel it was quite willing to hand over little sister, Altena. It regarded both not as assets but as liabilities, and the Company's depleted purse was feeling the strain of their maintenance.

Foiled in its benevolent intention of restoring the missing segment of the Company's family circle, the City decided upon

other means of alleviating at least its burden of annoyance, if not of expense. A survey of the situation had yielded knowledge of the causes of the trouble. First, there was the inefficiency of the late Director Alrichs. They blamed it on the dead engineer. But it was too late to do more than blame it on him.

What next? Why, there were the differences between Stuyvesant and d'Hinoyossa, arising out of the jurisdiction of the New Amsterdam court to hear appeals from the New Amstel court in matters involving more than one hundred guilders and in criminal matters. It was too burdensome on litigants and on convicted criminals to make them go all the way to Manhattan to prosecute an appeal. Something could be done to relieve this. That burden should and could be removed. It was quite simple. Take away the right of appeal. Now these losing suitors and convicted criminals won't have to take that long journey. But in really important cases, not involving such trifles as life and liberty, but such really valuable things as are worth six hundred guilders, the defeated suitor should have an appeal. So let him come over to Holland to prosecute it. A little longer journey, perhaps, but it avoids mixing up with that troublesome fellow, Stuyvesant, and his court. Let it be so arranged.

There had been trouble in keeping up a garrison at the fort, and expense in paying them. That was easily remedied, too, by discharging all the soldiers and letting the colonists defend themselves against Indians, English or Swedes. If they couldn't, that was their misfortune.

There were other changes, in the method of shipping goods, of anchoring vessels in the river. There were reductions in the personnel of the local administration. There was approval of a plan to send over twenty-five *boerknechts*—farm hands.

Then they took a shot at Stuyvesant. He was to be held to

his duty, to be sharply interdicted from undertaking anything contrary to the right of the City's colony, to be bade to live on good understanding with its officers.

Having decided on these wise measures,—which were about as effective a cure for the colony's ailments as an application of cosmetics for a case of pernicious anemia—they cast up an account and decided they needed twenty-four thousand guilders for supplies and expenses. Where to get it? Well, maybe they could find someone who would buy a half share in the enterprise, take half of the profits, and, yes, pay half of the expenses. Maybe, but not probably, not, indeed, possibly among the altogether competent capitalists of Holland. They never did find their desired philanthropist.

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There was in the City's colony not only dread of foreign foes, but also doubt as to its Director's loyalty. One night in November 1662, he and his crony, van Sweeringen, disappeared. It was found that they had quite suddenly given orders to make ready the sloop and had sailed away in the darkness to an unknown destination. The story got about that d'Hinoyossa had received an invitation to meet Governor Calvert of Maryland at the house of Augustine Herrman over on the Chesapeake. What did it mean?

J. Willems, one of the New Amstel councillors, was astonished and disturbed. "Who knows what it means?" he wrote to Beeckman at Altena. "Perhaps it is the result of much strange talking together in the valley. Many people saw that they talked together, turned their eyes upward to the sky and placed the hands upon their breasts and made other strange grimaces." He gave utterance to "gloomy doubts" that from the conversations in the valley "a basilisk may not arise." He

urged Beeckman to be on his guard and to inform "the old Patroon at the Manhattans" of the danger. But, if d'Hinoyossa was plotting treason, letting in "the English or them from Portugal, the Swede or the Dane," nothing came of it. The suspects were back again in a few days, and life in New Amstel bumped along as before. Perhaps, however, the death of the gloomy doubter, Willems, two weeks later, may have been due to his mental perturbation at this time.

In the spring of the following year, d'Hinoyossa left New Amstel again, but went in another direction and with a different purpose.

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It might have been supposed that the College of the XIX in Amsterdam, directors of the Company's colony, and d'Hinoyossa in New Amstel, governor of the City's colony, were as far apart in their desires and purposes as they were in their dwelling-places, and, in a sense, they were. One longed to get rid of something, the other itched to get hold of the same thing. That something was the colony of Altena and all the up-river settlements. Thus, though their wishes were contrary, they were harmonious, and both worked to the same end, which was to bamboozle the Worshipful Lords Burgomasters into taking on more of what they already had too much. Quite probably their Worships did not know what they had let themselves in for, when they ordered d'Hinoyossa to come over to Amsterdam.

He had written them three or four years before this, in Alrichs's lifetime, that their Honors' colony might be "full of people and cattle and . . . flourish through the mercy of God," and they could recover the "moneys disbursed with interest thereof." All that he needed to bring this about was

the delivery there of "a thousand souls" and one hundred thousand guilders. "All this shall I perform with God's help . . . God presents this means in order that so noble a project should not be smothered in the birth. . . . Pray God the Lord that his Almightiness may bless your administration, so that we may live peaceably and quietly under it, in all godliness and uprightness. Amen!"

At that time he had asked to be allowed to go to Holland and explain the details. It may have been their undesire to part with the one hundred thousand guilders that deterred the Commissioners from inviting him over, although he urged them to consider the reward they might "expect from God and the thanks from man and not to look to the expense of my little plan." At all events, they did not send for him then.

Now they had sent for him, but he surprised them by arriving in Holland in June 1663 before his invitation had reached him. He had come on his own invitation.

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Whether it was d'Hinoyossa's eloquence that brought it about, or despair of obtaining otherwise from the Company repayment of loans made to it by the City from time to time, or disgust for the continuous squabble between the two authorities on the River, their Worships, the Burgomasters, did adorn the dotted line with their honorable signatures in September 1663, and the Company passed out of control on the Delaware.

Stuyvesant was directed to convey to d'Hinoyossa, acting for the City, all the South River territory, after removing the Company's "ammunition of war, the ordnance and everything belonging to it," which, by deed dated December twenty-second, he did. It granted to the Burgomasters "the said

Southriver from the sea upwards to as far as the river reaches, on the east side inland three leagues from the bank of the river, on the west side as far as the territory reaches to the English Colony . . . all actual and real possession, ownership, rights and privileges . . . without retaining in our former relation any claim or pretense."

Beeckman was informed of his consequent demotion to an unofficial status and directed "to remain quiet and not to interfere in any affairs of the colony." The Council at New Amsterdam wrote d'Hinoyossa a letter commending Beeckman to his notice for continued service on the River, and d'Hinoyossa responded to the extent of promising him half a dozen laborers, if he wanted to take some "valleys" for cultivation. But as "valleys" meant low marsh-land that had to be diked and ditched before it could be cultivated, an operation requiring three years to complete, Beeckman was not dazzled by the invitation. He had a "large and expensive family" to maintain and needed immediate help. He applied to Stuyvesant for employment "elsewhere in the service of the Hon^{ble} Company." "Elsewhere" was the important word in this application. He could not face remaining on the River. "I would have no rest from d'Hinoyossa." If he could not get a job at New Amsterdam, he had resolved to remove to Maryland in "Augustyn Heerman's neighborhood." He begged Stuyvesant to provide for him as a father, which Stuyvesant did by appointing him commissary at Esopus.

After the English took New Amsterdam, Beeckman settled there and held various offices of civic importance. His eldest daughter married one of Stuyvesant's sons. One of his sons was a member of the Provincial Council and for a while Governor of the province. From Director Beeckman a numerous

progeny, many of them men of distinction, descended and spread throughout the country.

Willem Beeckman was competent in his office. He was a man of excellent intention and fair accomplishment. He had an unworkable job as director, very little to do at Altena, where he was unobstructed, a great deal to do at New Amstel, where he was continually thwarted by Alrichs and by the pestiferous d'Hinoyossa. Probably he functioned in his office as well as any man could have done, who had not the superior force of character necessary to override and dominate the difficult New Amstel officials. Councillor de la Grange, who had been sometime before sent down by Stuyvesant to try to reconcile Beeckman and d'Hinoyossa and failed because "the hatred was too great," laid none of the blame on Beeckman. Beeckman was willing, de la Grange said, "to live in friendship," moreover he was "an honest and polite man," who behaved himself "in every respect as an honest man ought to," which is a commendation anyone might be glad to deserve.

CHAPTER LVII

OF PROHIBITIONS AND PETER PLOCKHOY

THE first instalment of the thousand souls, by means of whose energy, exerted through their thousand bodies, Director d'Hinoyossa was to make the Delaware colony flourish beyond all doubt, arrived in December, with the Director in command. There were only a hundred and fifty of them, including thirty-two Finns, but another hundred "farm-laborers and girls" had come in September, of whom forty had disembarked at the Horekill, and this was merely a beginning. More were to come and more, "every year about 400 colonists and other bound farmers, if not a larger number." In two years the necessary thousand would be there. In five years—in ten years—anyone, with pencil and paper and a slight acquaintance with the multiplication table, could figure a land "full of people and cattle," all busily and happily at work earning "seven to eight per cent"—for the Burgomasters. It was practically a certainty.

The Burgomasters had carefully surveyed the situation. They saw the possible production in the colony of everything for which Holland had to trade with France and Germany. They saw hordes of applicants for emigration, from Germany, Norway, Austria, Westphalia, Huguenots and Waldensians,

refugees already in Holland eager to go across the Atlantic. D'Hinoyossa had told them of the prosperity of the Swedes and Finns, of the fertility of the soil, of the profits to be derived from trading with the English, beer for tobacco, of ten thousand peltries to be had each year from the Indians. Everything was more than hopeful, more than promising, now that they had the whole River in hand under the unchallenged unembarrassed leadership of able Director d'Hinoyossa. It was all sunshine in Holland, but over the River the clouds still hung low.

The new arrivals may have filled the empty houses in New Amstel and given that village a less funereal aspect, but there could be no immediate betterment of the economic condition of its inhabitants. Indeed, the prospect of such betterment seemed further removed than before, by reason of the plans of the Director.

He proposed to "build the principal city" of the colony "on the Kil of Apoquenaim" and make it his capital. That gave no joy to the landholders in New Amstel and Altena. He planned to "enclose with dikes a great deal of bottomland in that neighborhood." This was a plan so typically Dutch—this recovery of marsh-land by ditching and diking, although there was an unlimited available area of high and fast woodland of excellent quality—that it might have stirred the colonists patriotic pride. But it only aroused their fears of trouble with the Indians who claimed the coveted lowlands.

Then, to cast gloom in another direction, he made an edict that, "after one year and six weeks, no private party shall be allowed to deal in tobacco and furs." A monoply of trade in these most important commodities was to be enjoyed by the

Burgomasters through agents at New Amstel, Passajongh and the Horekill.

As a climax to his efforts to make things pleasant for his people, he directed "that nobody in the Colony, neither in nor outside of the village, should distill brandy or brew strong beer, neither for sale nor for private consumption." His idea was that thus grain would be saved for export, although it was plain that there was hardly enough grain produced in the colony for the people's food. Alrichs's policy, in this respect, had been based on his belief that "working people must sometimes take a drink of beer or wine to comfort their hearts" and that "thin drink makes hungry bellies," which was all very well in its way, but could hardly commend itself to a practical administrator, if it menaced the Burgomasters' seven or eight per cent. "Let them drink water," said d'Hinoyossa.

This prohibition was in force only in the lower colony. There was still an unofficial extra-legal, but practically recognized, division along the line of the Minquas Kill, between the Dutch and the Swedish communities. But it was the Director's intention to treat all alike. He sent word to Beeckman, who for a short time continued to act as liaison officer between the two territories, that the new prohibition should be promulgated *in partibus infidelibus*. Beeckman demurred because the message was not put in writing, and nothing further was done. As there were no professional brewers or distillers among the Swedes, nobody producing strong drink "unless for his private consumption," presumably there was no diminution in the supply of home-brew.

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Nevertheless, the Swedes and Finns were not in a pleasant frame of mind. They wanted to be let alone, to be allowed to

go on in their own quiet country fashion, without interference. But someone was always nagging at them. There was that continually recurring notion that, as they were, they were all wrong. They ought to be scattered among the Dutch, they ought to be herded together in a town, mutually contradictory policies, whose only common element was that both were objectionable to the Swedes.

Beeckman tried in 1660 to enforce the concentration plan. He spent several days among them, asking them, if they had to be gathered together, what place they would prefer for the round-up. The harassed colonists did not want to go anywhere, not, at least, before they had gathered in their harvest. After that, they would if they had to. But where? Some said to Kinsess, some said to Aroenemeck, and the arguments of the two factions were equally weighty. At last they agreed on Passajongh, the kind of compromise in which both sides get what neither of them wants.

They yielded in this matter of concentrating, but the efforts of a recruiting sergeant to enlist them for the war against the Indians at Esopus were fruitless. "Admonished and exhorted by the principal men of their nation not to scatter themselves," they declined to be led away.

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There can be little doubt that during the years of their submission to the rule of the Dutch, the Swedes and Finns cherished always the hope, even the expectation, of deliverance from bondage, that some champion of the oppressed would come out of Sweden and free them from the hated rule of the Dutch. There must have been then much prudently suppressed excitement, when, a little before d'Hinoyossa's return, the story got about that Admiral Zeehelm was equipping two ships, one of

"32 cannons" and one of "8 or 10 cannons," and taking on "200 or more soldiers" to recover the South River for its rightful lord, the King of Sweden. There must have been much wagging of beards in chimney corners, much planning of this and that, when the great day should come, all through that winter, for it was not until nearly a year later that news came of the "wonderful work of the Lord, worth noting and to be grateful for [as it seemed to the Directors in Holland] that the Swedish expedition under Admiral Hendrick Gerritsen Zeehelm, prepared and intended beyond doubt against Southriver, has been frustrated so wonderfully by His hand and providence, at least that it has been delayed and prevented," by storms.

If such expedition was actually so intended, its delay was equivalent to frustration, for another conqueror of the Dutch descended upon the River too soon thereafter to allow of Sweden's further effort. But it was probably the expectation of succor that stiffened the necks of the Swedes and Finns when d'Hinoyossa demanded of them an oath of allegiance to his new government.

At his demand their commissaries and many of the colonists appeared at New Amstel in a very surly and stubborn frame of mind. "Now we are sold, hand us over," said they. It sounded like submission, reluctant though it was, but when the oath was read to them they unanimously refused to swear, unless the new restrictions upon trade were removed. If they were not, they would all leave the colony. They were given eight days to reconsider their decision. The surviving records do not show the outcome, but, whatever it was, there was certainly ill-feeling on one side or the other or on both.

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There were no religious persecutions in the Delaware colonies under the Swedes and Dutch. Whether this freedom from outbreaks of intolerance was due to the liberality that consciously countenances variances of opinion or to the fact that each nation kept pretty much to itself and that the dominant faction never sufficiently outnumbered the other may be a question. There was no intrusion of other sects to test the tolerance of either Swedes or Dutch during their respective periods of control.

One stray English Quaker, a certain "Captain Voeler"—whose name in his own tongue was probably Wheeler—came to Altena in 1661. He was a refugee from Maryland. Beeckman was much concerned about him. He showed "not the least respect" to the Director. He was aware of his defect of manners, but said "his conscience did not allow it." "Whereupon I answered," says Beeckman, "that our conscience could not tolerate such a persuasion or sect. If he keeps still and no more followers of that sort shall arrive I shall tolerate him . . . but in case of increase I shall make him leave our jurisdiction, pursuant to the praiseworthy orders made by your Honorable Worships," the Director and Council at New Amsterdam. Lutherans and Calvinists might tolerate each other, but Quakers and such were outside the rules.

That is to say, if a few of them came right into the colony. If they came in sufficient numbers to settle and aid in developing the outlying parts, it might be different. There was the case of Pieter Plockhoy. He was a Mennonist and hence very much a schismatic. Also, these followers of Simons Menno, in most of their peculiarities, were hardly to be distinguished from Quakers. But, when Plockhoy offered to bring over a colony of twenty-five men, married and single, and settle them at the

Horekill, there was no trouble at all about it. The Burgomasters consented at once, furnished transportation and lent them twenty-five hundred guilders.

Plockhoy had an elaborate plan for the government of his colony. It was to begin as a sort of commune, but after five years there was to be a division of the land and personal property, and, thenceforth, the rights of private ownership were to be observed. Seeking religious freedom, they would not deny it to others and it was proposed freely to admit to membership sectarians of other sorts—with some exceptions. Of course there had to be reasonable exceptions. Naturally, they must exclude "all intractable people, such as those in communion with the Roman see, usurious Jews, English stiff-necked Quakers, foolhardy believers in the millennium and obstinate pretenders to revelation." Some people are simply impossible.

There was one other restriction. "For the maintenance of peace and concord," all clergymen were barred out. The Mennonists preferred to rely on the Bible, "the most peaceable and economical of all preachers."

They came over in the ship *St. Jacob* in the summer of 1663 and settled at the Horekill. After that nothing is to be heard of them.

CHAPTER LVIII

OF DOUBTS AND DELAYS

EXTERNALLY the colony was at peace. That is to say, it was not actually at war, though not free from apprehension of attack. The dreaded five hundred Baltimorean warriors did not come over the border, but that did not mean that his Lordship had been convinced by Herrman's arguments or moved by his appeal for friendship, so as to abandon his pretensions. He had merely decided to thresh the question out at headquarters.

Captain James Neale was commissioned in 1660 to go to Holland, to inquire of the West India Company whether it actually had the audacity to lay claim to the west shore of the Delaware and authorize its colonization. If the answer was "yes," he was to demand its surrender. And if the answer to that was "no," why then he was to file the usual protest.

He got both answers, in effect, but with greater elaboration. The College of XIX was surprised, they had been long in possession, they were resolved to defend their rights, they would employ all means to that end and would hold themselves innocent of all Christian blood that might be shed, and so forth. Having so answered, they appealed to the States-General to

request their ambassador in England to demand of his Majesty to order Lord Baltimore to desist from his unfounded pretensions and so forth. All of which the States-General did. The matter now having been steered into the tortuous channels of diplomacy, nothing more was heard of it for a long time.

Disappointed in his appeal to reason, his Lordship in England seemed driven to forcible measures. He sent Neale back with a letter to the Governor of the Province. "I hope when he [Neale] comes yow and he and my other friends will thinke upon some speedy and effectuall waye for Reduceing the Dutch in Delaware Baye. The New England men will be assisting in itt and Secretary Ludwell of Virginea assured me before he went hence that the Virgineans will be soe too. But it were well to be done with all Celerity convenient, because perhaps the New England men falling upon them at Manhatas may take it in the head to fall upon them at Delaware too and by that means p^{r}tend some tytle to the place &c."

Not only a letter did Captain Neale bring with him, but also a commission in due form. "Whereas we understand that certain Ennemies Pyratts & Robbers have invaded and usurped a parte of our said Province of Maryland lying upon the South side of Delaware Baye within the degree of forty Northerly Latitude . . . Knowe yee—" In short Captain Neale was appointed "to Leavy muster and traine" a force to make war against and to pursue those Dutch "Ennemies Pyratts and Robbers . . . and by God's assistance to take them" and to seize their houses and goods and capture their ships.

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The Governor of Maryland and his Council read the letter and read the commission, but act thereon "with all Celerity"

they did not. The matter deserved consideration. It must be pondered and perpended.

First, they noted that his Lordship authorized a war only with those who had usurped some part of his province or aided and abetted such usurpers. Did that justify an attack on New Amstel? They doubted. "It is very doubtfull" said they "whether the Towne of New Amstel do lye within the lymitts of this Province or not."

Next they observed that his Lordship expected them "to reduce the supposed Intruders and Usurpers upon Confidence and of Assistance from Virginea and New England." Would they have this assistance? Again they doubted. It did "not at all seeme likely, the Dutch Trade being the Darling of the People of Virginea, as well as this Province and indeed all other Plantations of the English."

Then they considered "the Charge of the Warre that will thence insue with the West Indian Company." Could their Province alone bear that charge? This time they had no doubts. They well knew it could not.

Out of these doubts and this assurance came resolution. "Resolved that all Attempts be forborne against the said Towne of New Amstell" until they heard from his Lordship further and until an observation could be taken at the head of Chesapeake Bay to find whether New Amstel "Doe lye within the fortyth degree of Northerly Latitude or not" and until they could make "tryall . . . whether Assistance from Virg[a] may be had and from New England." Three "untils" equal one "never." The "Warre" was laid upon the table.

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The difference in tone between these proceedings and those of the council that met Herrman two years before may be

accounted for by the difference in the governors presiding at these two sessions of the council. Fiery Fendall was no longer head of the Province. He had attempted to dislodge the Absolute Lord from his absolute lordship and to establish a Commonwealth, but his revolution failed to revolve. Like a refractory pin-wheel, it stuck on its pivot and fizzled out. Fendall, after sentence of confiscation of all his goods and banishment had been imposed, had obtained a pardon but was forever barred from office. Philip Calvert, Baltimore's half brother, a much more agreeable person, was now Governor of Maryland.

Calvert refrained from molesting the Dutch on the River. Without abandoning the claims of the Proprietor, he maintained a friendly relationship with his neighbors. In June 1663 he greatly perturbed Beeckman by announcing his intention of visiting him at New Amstel. Beeckman was worried because "not a single draught of French wine" could be had anywhere on the River. Would Director Stuyvesant send him some at once, please?

"Mr. Baltimoor," as Beeckman called him, came shortly after that "with a following of 26 or 27" and was entertained for three days at New Amstel and Altena. It seemed merely a friendly visit. Whether any surreptitious observations were taken to determine the latitude of the colony does not appear.

CHAPTER LIX

OF ALARUMS AND EXCURSIONS

FOR seventeen years, from their first settlement at Christina to their conquest by Stuyvesant, the Swedes and Finns had lived on the River without being attacked or even threatened or put in fear by the Indians. For four years after the coming of the Dutch the same peaceful condition had persisted. But the next five years, a period which ended with the English invasion, were years of trouble. There never was during this whole quarter century any concerted warfare between Indians and whites, no massacres nor wholesale killings such as redden the pages of the history of New England and New York, but, during these latter years, there were threats, disorders, murders, general unrest and fear of attack.

This change in the relations between the European settlers and the native Indians had several causes. Partly it was due to matters entirely outside the colony, intertribal conflicts among the Indians.

The nearest neighbors of the colony were the Leni-Lenape, the River Indians, a peacefully inclined people, settled in their several villages and engaged in farming, hunting and fishing. Their territory yielded few of the most desired furs, the

beavers, and the trade of the whites with them was mostly for food, maize, game and fish.

Further west were the Minquas, White and Black. The Black were probably the Eries, who lived in the Ohio valley. They were the most remote from the settlers on the Delaware, and therefore less known than the others. The White Minquas were the Susquehannahs. These were the best and most remunerative friends of the Swedes and Finns, their chief reliance in the fur trade. They were highly esteemed and greatly admired by the whites for their physical and moral excellences. One contemporary writer asserts that they were "the most noble and heroic nation of Indians that dwelt upon the confines of America." Such was, at least, their reputation among their European neighbors.

They held the valleys of the Susquehannah all the way across Pennsylvania. To the north of them in New York, between Seneca Lake and the Genesee River, lived the Senecas, one of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. Both the so-called Minquas and the Senecas were warlike tribes, the Senecas being the foremost warriors of the Six Nations. Between them was an old time hostility. The Minquas had held their own in this tribal conflict, but in the last half of the seventeenth century their power was declining, while the unabated strength of the Iroquoians was exerting itself to the conquest of their territory.

In 1661 and 1662 the southward thrust of the Senecas brought the war close to the Delaware colonies, so close that war parties of the Senecas ravaged some of the plantations of those Swedes and Finns who had left the River to settle on the upper Chesapeake. The River Indians were "in great

fear" of these northern warriors and dared not leave their villages to go a-hunting.

This fear quite naturally spread to the whites, and, when Joris Floris, an old Dutchman living near New Amstel, was shot down while driving a wagon through the forest, and "his lock of honor" torn from his head, "with hair and everything," it was blamed on the marauding "Sinnecus." Beeckman, however, had his doubts whether it was not the deed of a River Indian in revenge for the wounding of one of their tribe near New Amstel three days before. At all events, as Joris had been a crony of van Sweeringen and had been one of the witnesses for the defense when the Sheriff was charged with the murder of a soldier, it seemed to Beeckman a proper penalty for his perjury in that case. "Probably therefore the Lord God has inflicted upon him this just punishment."

A few nights later an "old reed house at New Amstel in which no one lived and standing at a distance got a-fire." Floris having received the due reward for his offense, not even Beeckman could blame this on the Lord God. It was certainly the "Sinnecus." D'Hinoyossa fired five cannon-shots in that direction, but when they searched the woods no Indians were found, alive or dead.

Nevertheless the dread of the "Sinnecus" blazed into panic fear. There was "a great disturbance and a running together of the inhabitants, who fled all to the fort with bag and baggage." There was a call on Manhattan for powder and lead. But in a few days "the commotion at New Amstel . . . subsided," leaving only the identity of the murderers as a topic for ardent discussion, the River Indians accusing the "Sinnecus," the Dutchmen divided among "different opinions." Two months later five Minquas chiefs came to Altena and

discovered to Beeckman the culprit. He was a young Seneca who had been captured by the Minquas and joined to their forces. The sachems expressed their regrets and protested their continued deep regard for the white man.

Beeckman was at first minded to suggest to them that death was the proper punishment for murder, but, on second thought, remembering the killing of the three Indians by the whites, was afraid "they would make us blush by pointing out that at New Amstel the murderers were not punished." He contented himself with asking them to admonish the erring youth that "such things must not happen again."

The sachems also told him that two hundred of the Black Minquas had joined them and six hundred more were to come in the Spring, when they would attack the fort of the Senecas. They asked him to provide a store of ammunition when that time came.

There having been the usual cessation of fighting among the Indians during the winter, spring saw renewed warfare. A Dutchman known by the odd name of Jacob my Friend, who had taken a squaw to wife and lived among the Indians as an independent trader, sent word to New Amstel, saying "that the Sinnecus 1600 men strong, with wives and children are on a march to the Minquas and they were at that time only 2 days' marches from the Minquas' fort; the Minquas were mostly at home, except 80 men, who were still outside; there were also 100 of the River Indians here in their fort."

In this alliance of the River Indians with the Minquas, Andreas Hudde foresaw danger to the colony from the Senecas. "As these River-savages will not be without offense, troubles will arise here on the River during the summer."

But the fortune of war was with the Minquas. The Mary-

land English took their side and furnished them with "two pieces of artillery and four men to manage them," and, when the Senecas besieged the fort, they faced the muzzles of these great guns. It was not the Englishmen's cannon that won the day for their allies, however. The Minquas "made a sally in force, drove away and pursued the Sinnecus for 2 days capturing 10 prisoners and killing a number." A few days later it was reported that the invaders had returned to their own country, and the Minquas boasted their intention to follow them up in the fall and attack them with a strong force.

The war went on, though its scene was removed from the Delaware, until twelve years later when the Senecas overwhelmed the Minquas and scattered them forever.

The frequent alarms during these years of nearby Indian warfare were bad for the morale of the colony and of its nearest neighbors, the River Indians, but there were other evils that bit more deeply into the lives of both white and red men, were more destructive of that agreeable relationship between the two races, which had obtained during the years of Swedish rule. For some of these evils, the blame cannot fairly be laid on either.

CHAPTER LX

OF THE DEMON RUM

UNFORTUNATELY it seems to be a natural law that, whenever a hitherto isolated race of a primitive culture is subjected to the influences arising out of close contact with the white man, it suffers degradation. Though the virtues of civilization seem sterile, incapable of reproducing themselves, its vices, physical, mental and moral, its diseases and evils of every sort find in the primitive man a prepared and fertile seed bed. They germinate and flourish in rank profusion. Deterioration of body and soul is the inevitable result to the savage, complete extinction his usual fate.

The general characteristics of the Minquas and Leni-Lenape, as observed and described by the early explorers, have been outlined in these pages. Among them were their trustworthiness, their sobriety, their freedom from physical ills and their friendliness to the Europeans. In these three elements there was noticeable gradual deterioration. The bad faith of the white man was as contagious as his diseases, and his unkindnesses were soon requited by enmity.

The white trader cheated the Indians. Lindeström tells how they stretched the cloth they sold the savages "so that he, for

his three ells, gets barely more than two," and how, in measuring powder by the handful, the white man "draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than half handful for a whole." Acrelius noted the result of the European's fraud and falsehood. "In former times they [the Indians] were quite truthful, although oaths were not customary among them. But it was not so in later times, after they had more intercourse with Christians."

In the early days of the Swedes on the River the sachems of the near-by villages complained of the formerly unknown maladies that were then spread among the Indians by the settlers. In the time of the Dutch ascendency smallpox was introduced. There was "great mortality" among the Minquas on that account in 1661, and two years later it was ravaging the River Indians.

But nothing that the European brought with him did more to ruin the Indian than intoxicating liquor. There were no distilled or fermented drinks known to these savages in their natural state. Smoking tobacco was their farthest adventure in the use of stimulants. They had neither inherited nor acquired resistance to the effects of alcohol, nor any social taboos against its excessive use. The result was a physically, mentally and morally degrading over-indulgence. When an Indian drank, he drank all he could get, he drank himself blind and deaf and dumb. If he could get enough, he drank himself to death.

Beeckman wrote to Stuyvesant that he saw drunken savages daily, they sat drinking publicly in the taverns, there were so many drunken savages wandering about the streets of New Amstel that "it was a disgrace in the presence of strangers." One group had "an entire anker of anise-liquor on the strand near the church and sat around it drinking." "Gerrit the Smith"

complained that he was so "much annoyed by drunken savages every night" that he would have to abandon his house "in the back-part of the town near the edge of the forest."

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The Director-General and his Council had prohibited the sale of spirits to the Indians, and for violation of this statute Jan Juriaensen Becker, a man of standing in the community, a "Reader" in the church and formerly Commissary, was indicted. Becker denied having done more than give a drink of brandy to a sachem or two, "whom neither Dutchmen nor Swedes disdain openly to provide with liquor." Moreover he claimed that selling or bartering brandy to the Indians was "a common and necessary custom" among all the settlers, "because without it it is hard to get provisions." He supported his defense with affidavits as to the general custom, alleging that "the savages are every day drunk like beasts," that if the "poor inhabitants" of the colony did not barter liquor "to the savages for Indian corn, meat or other things, they would perish from hunger and distress."

Becker was convicted and fined. He then petitioned for pardon, producing two witnesses to prove that Director Alrichs had been in the habit of trading liquors with the Indians for maize. Stuyvesant must have believed him and recognized the force of his plea, for he was pardoned, which seems fair enough when Beeckman himself is found a little later calling for two ankers of brandy "to barter it next month for maize for the garrison."

The evil effects of the trade in hard liquors were so apparent that some of the sachems of the River Indians "proposed and requested that no more brandy or strong drink should be sold to the savages," and sent presents of wampum to the heads of

the colonies to induce them to stop the trade. But it was easier to buy maize, or anything else the Indians had, with spirits than with beads or kettles, and no consideration for the welfare of the savages restrained the colonists. The debauchery of the red men went on.

With this degeneration in the characters and habits of the Indians came increased disorder and frequent crimes of violence, but the fault was not more largely on their side than on the colonists'. Murders were no longer infrequent, but the murderers were not always Indians. The cruel cold-blooded killing of three harmless savages by two white men, and the acquittal of the confessed murderers by d'Hinoyossa, have been narrated. When, some time afterwards, three Englishmen were slain within the colony's limits, the prospect of war between the Marylanders and the Minquas greatly alarmed the Dutch.

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Suffering from famine and disease, torn by internal dissension, harassed by fears of attack by the English, weakened by numerous desertions, endangered by the nearness of the Indian wars, alarmed by the increasing disorderliness of their savage neighbors, the condition of the Delaware colonists in the years from 1660 to 1664 was unenviable and unpromising. The administration of their affairs by the Dutch was faulty in almost every particular, nor did the future seem to offer hope of its betterment. Under d'Hinoyossa the colony seemed fairly headed toward comparative failure, if not complete ruin. A turn for the better was possible, and no one can say with assurance that the colony might not have pulled through, though all signs were against a successful outcome. But there was no time left

in which to prove the event. Across the Atlantic new forces were developing which were to terminate the control of the Lords Burgomasters and the overlordship of the States-General, and, finally and permanently, to impress upon the colony the stamp of a different national culture.

CHAPTER LXI

OF THE GRAND OLD DUKE OF YORK

HE Dutch were born traders and born seamen. Combining these two requisites to success in sea-borne commerce, their success as world-wide traders was inevitable. By the middle of the seventeenth century nearly half of the tonnage of the merchantmen of all Europe was theirs. Their own trading enterprises, in the East Indies and the West, were widely extensive and enormously valuable and, besides their own goods, they carried the cargoes of the traders of many other nations. Protected by a navy as numerous and as ably and courageously manned as that of the best of their rivals, their merchantmen wove a web of traffic over all the Seven Seas. They were in virtual control of the carrying trade of the world. But it is dangerous to be too successful. It excites jealousy, arouses rivalry, invites attack. The supremacy of the Dutch had these consequences.

From the time when, in the reign of Henry VII, English sailors began to extend their voyages to seas more distant than the Baltic and the Mediterranean, they had ranged more and more widely over the waters of the world. Single merchant adventurers, such as "olde Master William Haukins of Plim-

mouth . . . not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the Knowen coasts of Europe," sought more remote shores. To the Guinea Coast went Hawkins and "trafiqued with the Negroes and took of them Oliphants' teeth," and to Brazil, whence he brought "one of the savage Kings," whom he "presented unto King Henry 8."

Commerce extended so widely could not be handled by single traders. Chartered companies were formed in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, first the Muscovy Company, then the Levant Company, their fields Russia and the Mediterranean. In 1600 came into being the great English East India Company, which, after it was firmly seated in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, ruled India for nearly two hundred years. Two years later than the English company, was born the Dutch East India Company, and these rivals locked horns in their fight for supremacy.

After sixty years the contest was still undecided, and the English merchantmen called on their government for aid. The parliament of the Commonwealth passed the Navigation Acts, which provided, among other things, that no European goods should be carried to the English colonies in America except in English ships sailing from England. "Not so much as a Dutch cheese could be carried in a Dutch ship from Amsterdam to Boston without being subject to confiscation."

But the Dutchman could carry his cheese to New Amsterdam, and an Englishman from Virginia could buy it there, pay for it in tobacco and carry it home with him. New Amsterdam thus became the center of the Dutch trade in North America, and the Navigation Acts were practically unenforceable against Maryland, Virginia and New England. The English revenue from tolls and tariffs fell off alarmingly. It was clear that this,

in effect, smugglers' refuge must be policed, and that was impossible unless England owned it.

There were other reasons why it must be taken from the Dutch, natural reasons. The Hudson and the Mohawk rivers and their affluents were the only practicable roads to the north and west, to the Great Lakes country and the Saint Lawrence. Who controlled them not only controlled the fur trade with the Iroquois confederacy, but was assured of the future exploitation of a vast territory. New Amsterdam was the gateway to these roads. Every commercial, economic and political consideration demanded that England take it from the Dutch. *Delenda est Carthago!*

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To bring the matter to a head, the English parliament prayed the king to redress the grievances of the kingdom against the Dutch who were ruining the colonial trade and reducing the national income. At the same time came a demand from the States-General for an agreed delimitation of boundaries between the Dutch and English possessions in America. It was the moment for decision whether to recognize the rights of the Dutch in New Netherland, as Cromwell had done, or deny them altogether and enforce England's claim to the whole territory between Maryland and New England. Charles was not unwilling, on his own account, to make the denial and enforce the claim, but, perhaps, not so anxious as his brother was.

James Stuart, Duke of York, did not like the Dutch. He had been a refugee in Holland during the period of the Commonwealth, and his experiences there had been distasteful to him. Also, he was Governor of the Royal African Company, which competed, not too successfully, with the Dutch trade in gold and slaves. Moreover, he was Lord High Admiral of the English

navy and, being of an energetic and restless disposition, chafed at the temporary idleness of his fighting ships. From every point of view a war with the Dutch seemed to him most desirable.

The Duke had willing and able coadjutors. There was George Baxter, who had been Stuyvesant's English secretary. He had been arrested in New Amsterdam for treason, had broken jail and fled to New England. There was John Scott, who had been a trouble-maker among the English on Long Island. There was Samuel Maverick, who, as an Anglican churchman, had been dissatisfied with non-conformity in Massachusetts and, after a rebellious incident there, had been debarred from all civil and religious rights in the colony. They were all in London and all anxious to have the king intervene in the affairs of their American enemies.

Lord Chancellor Clarendon took charge of the conspiracy. He summoned Baxter, Scott and Maverick as expert witnesses before the Privy Council. Their testimony was convincing. England must have New Netherland. Maverick wanted action against Massachusetts, too, the taking away of its privileges. Clarendon was not willing to confuse the issue with the Dutch by bringing the Massachusetts English into the picture, but Maverick's argument had some effect upon the method to be employed in taking over New Netherland. It was decided that, when subdued, it should not be allowed self-government. Charles was all against autonomy, and Maverick's presentation of the evil example of Massachusetts, recalcitrant to dictation from overseas, supported the royal preference for crown-colonies, governed by dictation from London and not by laws enacted in their own little provincial capitals. This was to be the result, but what about the process?

Here came in ambitious, covetous and revengeful James. He was Charles's heir presumptive. If he got the property and succeeded to the crown, it would, on his accession, become a royal possession. Also, he was son-in-law of Clarendon, who was planning the affair, and so it was all in the family. As Admiral of the royal navy he could order it away for the expedition without the formality of a declaration of war upon the Dutch nation, for which there was no present plausible excuse. It would be easier to take New Amsterdam if the Dutch in Holland knew nothing about it until after it was all over. Everything indicated that the proper plan was a royal grant of the coveted territory to the Duke and its sudden and unheralded seizure. This plan was adopted.

Clarendon first bought in the outstanding title to the territory in Maine, between the St. Croix and the Kennebec, and the title to Long Island, which had been assigned by the original patentees to the Earl of Sterling. Then, on March 12th 1664, this Maine territory, all the islands between Cape Cod and the Narrows, the Hudson River and all the land from the west side of the Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay, together with Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, were granted to the Duke.

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It will be observed that this did not take in the Dutch territory on the west side of the Delaware. Thus Charles seems to have respected the former royal grant to Baltimore of the west side of the Delaware up to the 40th parallel. He failed, however, to respect his own grant to Winthrop made two years before, this new patent cutting off a large slice of Connecticut. Also, he failed to respect that canon of international law, which had been laid down by Queen Elizabeth in 1580 and reaffirmed

by the English House of Commons in 1621 as binding on the government of England, and which has been mentioned hereinbefore.

The rule of Elizabeth was that, in the matter of title to newly discovered countries, "prescription without possession is of no avail," that is to say, the nation first discovering a new land must occupy it in order to hold it against later comers. Elizabeth had announced this principle in order to assert England's right to the mainland of North America based on its discovery by John Cabot, and to dispose of Spain's prior claim through the discovery of Columbus. But it was a good practical rule and based on common sense. With Queen Elizabeth as its promulgator and the House of Commons as its endorser, it should have availed to protect New Amsterdam from English aggression.

The English, however, argued that James I took possession of the whole seaboard of America between the 34th and 45th parallels, when he granted it to the London and Plymouth companies in 1606. But issuing such a document was not an act of "possession" in the sense intended by the rule. That meant actual possession, settling, colonizing. To this the English would reply that the colonies at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620 were enough to qualify under the rule. Whether two such little settlements so far apart were enough to give title to the whole intervening country was a question for whose decision there was no impartial tribunal. But the claim of the Dutch, based on positive actual occupancy begun not later than 1623 and continued for more than forty years, would seem pretty well founded. It did not, however, bother Charles II, nor Lord Chancellor Clarendon, nor the Duke of

York. They wanted New Netherland, and they were bound to have it.

A royal commission, to reduce the royally granted land to actual possession and, incidentally, to curb the growing independence of the New England colonies, was appointed. There were four members, Colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright and Mr. Samuel Maverick. Nicolls was made Deputy Governor of the new province. The Duke of York ordered away three warships and a troop transport, with four hundred and fifty veteran soldiers on board, and on May 15th 1664 the expedition sailed from Portsmouth.

CHAPTER LXII

OF A SIEGE AND A SURRENDER

IN JULY 1664 there came to Director-General Stuyvesant at New Amsterdam bad news from Boston. An English fleet, bent on the capture of his city, was on its way across the ocean, and its arrival was imminent. The Burgomasters were summoned to meet with the Director-General and his Council, and it was resolved to fortify the city. A ship about to sail with supplies to Curaçao was held in the harbor. Money was requisitioned from Rensselaerswyck and powder from New Amstel. Spies were sent out to watch for the fleet's entrance into the Sound. Agents were despatched to New Haven to buy provisions. New Amsterdam would hold out to the end.

In the midst of this preparation for resistance, came a letter from the Honorable Directors in Holland that cooled the ardor of the gallant defenders. It appeared that the news from New England was a false alarm. His Royal Majesty of Great Britain, "being disposed to bring all his kingdoms under one form of government, both in church and state," was sending commissioners to New England, "there to install the Episcopal government as in Old England." It would be better so, because the English in the Dutch territory would be minded to live

quietly under the liberal Dutch rule, rather than under the new form of government in New England. So wrote the Honorable, if somewhat too credulous, Directors.

On top of that came more news from Boston. The fleet had arrived there, the troops had disembarked for a long stay. It was true, then, that they had come merely to impose Bishops on Massachusetts, not Dukes on New Netherland. Everybody drew a deep breath of relief. The spies were recalled, the requisitions were cancelled, the ship sailed away to Curaçao, the Burgomasters went about their own business and Stuyvesant started up the Hudson to Fort Orange to arrange a peace between the warring Mohawks and Abenaquis, who were making things uncomfortable thereabouts.

Three weeks later an express messenger, in breathless haste, broke in upon the Director-General's pacific occupations. The false alarm was true. The English were coming. They were within a day's sail of Manhattan. The General must hurry home to rally his forces, to prepare his defenses. He did hurry home, and, within twenty-four hours after his arrival, "the stately black frigates with the red ensign of England flying at their mastheads were seen coming up the Lower Bay."

Then all the turmoil of preparation for a hopeless defense began again. It was hopeless because there were but a hundred and fifty trained soldiers in the garrison and only two hundred and fifty other men in the city able to bear arms, many of them disaffected and unwilling to resist. It was hopeless because there was no fortification, worthy of respect, on the island, and what fort there was mounted only twenty guns, for which there was very little powder. It was hopeless because in the ships were a hundred and twenty guns, and nearly a thousand men, the original force having been about doubled by the

addition of fighting men levied in New England. It was altogether and entirely hopeless. Nevertheless, the Director-General showed no sign of yielding.

Every third man was ordered out "with spade shovel or wheelbarrow" to repair the city's defenses. There was infinite running to and fro, and an increasing disinclination on the part of the citizens to do anything more violent than that. The English blockaded the harbor, possessed the blockhouse on Staten Island and captured a couple of yachts and some cattle and negro slaves, which Peter Alrichs was taking down to New Amstel.

For ten days Stuyvesant held out, not by forceful resistance but merely because he stubbornly refused to surrender and Colonel Nicolls was too humane to cause useless bloodshed and patient enough to permit the delay. The Burgomasters, the *schepens*, the leading citizens declared for nonresistance and surrender on favorable terms. Nicolls sent in a letter by the hand of Governor Winthrop promising the most liberal treatment. Stuyvesant tore it up. The citizens had wind of it, stopped work on the defenses, demanded the letter. When they were told its contents, they were ready to open the gates. But still the old man held out.

Nicolls disembarked troops below Breukelen, laid two ships broadside to the fort, in which the Dutch gunners stood by their guns with lighted matches in their hands. Stuyvesant seemed about to order them to fire, when two clergymen came and besought him not to be the first to shed blood. The old man hesitated, then turned and walked away, and from that moment all thought of resistance died. A hundred of the leading citizens, including his own son, signed a remonstrance against violence and a prayer for surrender. People flocked

about him imploring him to yield. Women and children wept as they crowded around him and clamored for submission. "Well, let it be so," the old man said at last, "though I had rather be carried to my grave." On September 6th the articles of capitulation were signed. Fort Amsterdam became Fort James, the city became New York.

The people were guaranteed their liberty and the safety of their property, the right to depart or to remain, as they wished, liberty of conscience in religious affairs, freedom of trade with England, the right to elect their own inferior officers and magistrates. There were no oppressive provisions in the articles, nor was there in fact any oppression, nor any spoliation or destruction of property. Nicolls was a man of the highest character, a scholar and a gentleman. By tact and moderation he achieved a bloodless conquest. His humanity shielded the people of New Amsterdam from the hardships and suffering which might have followed the taking of their town. His subsequent policy was conciliatory. The people were undisturbed in person and property and found their rights better protected than they had been under their own national government. Few of them desired to leave and the colony soon settled down to enjoy "a kind of golden age" throughout the four years of the governorship of Nicolls, "one of the most genial and attractive figures in early American history."

CHAPTER LXIII

OF D'HINOYOSSA'S DESPERATE DEFENSE

THE grant to the Duke ran only to the east side of the Delaware, nevertheless, when they had subjugated New Amsterdam, the English descended upon the Dutch colonies on the west side. All this land belonged to them. There was no doubt of that. If Baltimore's grant did validly run to the 40th parallel and take in all the Delaware, then it belonged to him. If not, then it belonged to the crown. It was English, anyway you looked at it. The Dutch were merely intruders. The Dutch must go.

"Whereas wee are enformed that the Dutch have seated themselves at Delaware bay, on his Ma^{ty} of great Brittaine's territoryes without his knowledge and consent . . . Wee, his Ma^{tyes} Commission^{rs} . . . do order & Appoint that his Ma^{ties} ffrygotts, the *Guinney* and the *William & Nicholas*, and all the Soldy^{ers} which are not in the Fort, shall with what speed they conveniently can, goe thither under the command of S^{r} Robert Carr to reduce the same." Such was Sir Robert's commission.

He was instructed to summon the Dutch governor and his fellow trespassers to yield obedience to his Majesty, and to let them know that his Majesty was graciously and generously

pleased to let them continue to enjoy their farms, houses, goods and chattels as before, "only that they change their masters."

He was to "remonstrate" to the Swedes "their happy return under a Monarchicall Government and his Majesties good inclination to that nation."

All munitions of war were to become the property of his Majesty. Future trading was to be governed by the Acts of Parliament—including the Navigation Acts. The people were to enjoy liberty of conscience. Their magistrates were to continue in office for six months, if they took the oath of allegiance, and the laws governing civil rights were to remain for the present unaltered.

If the Dutch would not yield peaceably, Carr was to use force and call on Maryland for such additional warriors as he might need.

"Your first care (after reducing the place) is to protect the inhabitants from injuries as well as violence by the soldiers."

"To my Lord Baltimore's son you shall declare, and to all English concerned in Maryland, that his Majesty hath at his great expense sent his ships and soldiers to reduce all fforeigners in these parts to his Majesties obedience and to that purpose only you are employed. But the reduction of the place being at his Majesties expense you have commands to keep possession thereof for his Majesties own behoofe and right and that you are ready to join with the Governour of Maryland upon his Majesties interest in all occasions and that if my Lord Baltimore doth pretend right thereunto by his patent (which is a doubtfull case) you are to say that you only keep possession till his Majesty is informed and satisfyed otherwise."

Thus authorized and instructed Carr sailed, with the *Guinea* and the *William & Nicholas*, to the Delaware and then up the

River, past the forts, to the Swedish settlements above. It was an important element of the strategy of the campaign that the Swedes should first have "remonstrated" to them the happiness of their impending "return under a Monarchicall Government." Delighted by this joyful prospect, they would refrain from helping the Dutch in their defense. It can readily be believed that, in principle, the Swedes would as lief be ruled by an Englishman as by a Dutchman, and, in practise, after their experience with the Dutch, would rather. The Swedes seem to have accepted the change with equanimity.

Dropping down stream again, the frigates anchored off New Amstel and landed troops. The place was duly summoned to surrender. The citizens were disinclined to resistance. In the two frigates were many guns and many soldiers. In the fort, which was in its usual easily pregnable condition, were a few cannon and a handful of men. No defense was actually possible. Refusal to surrender meant only useless bloodshed without hope of holding out for even a single day. But d'Hinoyossa was made of sterner stuff than Stuyvesant. He was of that heroic temper which regards a collision between another man's head and a stone wall as a valorous act.

With Alrichs and van Sweeringen as his aides, he undertook to resist the invaders. Two broadsides from the ships were followed by an assault. The English swept over the meagre defenses and took the fort at the first onslaught. Three Dutchmen were killed and ten wounded. There were no casualties on the other side.

* * * * *

But these few were not the only victims of d'Hinoyossa's criminal folly. Having loosed their men on the foe, the English officers either could not or would not check them when the vic-

tory was complete. They sacked the fort and plundered the town. That there was no real attempt on the part of Carr to prevent this rapine is proven by his subsequent conduct. The town, now called New Castle, and the country round about were systematically and thoroughly looted. "One hundred sheep and thirty or forty horses, fifty or sixty cows, between sixty and seventy negroes, the brewhouse, stillhouse and all the materials thereunto belonging, the produce of the land for that year, such as corn hay &c were seized for the King's use . . . all to the value, as near as can be remembered of four thousand pounds sterling. . . . All sorts of tools for handicraft tradesmen and all plough gear and other things to cultivate the ground, which were in store in great quantity, were likewise seized together with a saw-mill ready to set up and nine seabuoys with their iron chains," in fact, everything of value, that was movable, was swept away from the miserable unresisting colonists.

Nor did Carr content himself with the movables. He took d'Hinoyossa's house and farm for himself, gave van Sweeringen's to his brother, Capt. John Carr, and Peter Alrichs's to Ensign Stock. He shipped d'Hinoyossa's slaves to Maryland and traded them for "beef, pork and salt."

Then he extended his operations to the Horekill, and there he robbed the inoffensive and submissive Mennonists of everything they had, stripping them bare "to a very naile."

The crowning infamy of Carr's campaign, however, was his treatment of the Dutch soldiers whom he captured. Although they had come into his hands as prisoners of war, guilty of no greater crime than obedience to their officers in this foolhardy attempt at defending their fort, he handed them over to a

merchantman, to whom he owed pay for services rendered, to be transported to Virginia and sold as bondsmen.

The contrast between the treatment of New Amsterdam and New Amstel in their respective subjugations, is a reflection of the contrast between Peter Stuyvesant and Colonel Richard Nicolls, on the one hand, and Alexander d'Hinoyossa and Sir Robert Carr, on the other.

Carr was very soon afterward recalled from the Delaware, and Nicolls took his place there for a time. It may be inferred that this was to mark the Commissioners' disapproval of Carr's conduct and to give Nicolls a chance to alleviate the condition of the sufferers. Yet it must be noted that Nicolls in the following year recommended that Carr, his brother and Ensign Stock be confirmed in their possession and ownership of the confiscated lands of d'Hinoyossa, van Sweeringen and Alrichs. Perhaps this was felt to be a proper punishment for their armed resistance to his Majesty's forces.

With the fall of Fort Casimir the last hold of the Dutch on the mainland of North America was loosed. New Netherland disappeared from the map. England now held the seaboard of the continent from Maine to Florida.

* * * * *

In the capture of Fort Casimir the ingenious Mr. Washington Irving perceived more than the taking of a little palisaded blockhouse from a handful of foolishly stubborn Dutchmen. In it he saw the origin of American independence.

"By the treacherous surprisal of Fort Casimir, [by Rising] then, did the crafty Swedes enjoy a transient triumph, but drew upon their heads the vengeance of Peter Stuyvesant, who wrested all New Sweden from their hands. By the conquest of New Sweden, Peter Stuyvesant aroused the claims of Lord

Baltimore, who appealed to the Cabinet of Great Britain, who subdued the whole province of New Netherlands. By this great achievement, the whole extent of North America from Nova Scotia to the Floridas was rendered one entire dependency upon the British crown. But mark the consequences: the hitherto scattered colonies, being thus consolidated and having no rival colonies to check or keep them in awe, waxed great and powerful, and, finally, becoming too strong for the mother-country, were enabled to shake off its bonds, and by a glorious revolution became an independent empire," which would not have been possible but for the building and the successive captures, by Swedes, the Dutch and the English, of little Fort Casimir.

CHAPTER LXIV

OF THE RETURN OF THE DUTCH

HERE had been no declaration of war nor any notice of hostile intention on the part of England against the Dutch before the taking of New Netherland. It was an altogether irregular proceeding, justifiable only on the ground that the Dutchmen in America were mere intruders and trespassers on territory rightfully belonging to England, a merely specious excuse at best. But, in February 1665, the seizure was regularized *ex post facto* by a formal declaration of war. The only discoverable *casus belli* were Holland's increasing commercial superiority and her growing intimacy with France, which aroused in the English two most powerful emotions, jealousy and fear, emotions always potent to engender wars.

The war which followed was fought on the sea. It made famous the names of the Dutch admirals, de Ruyter, Tromp and de Witt, and it was signalized by the only actual invasion that England has suffered since the Norman Conquest. De Ruyter sailed up the Thames as far as Gravesend, taking Sheerness and burning the English warships anchored there. London was in terror, and consternation spread throughout

England, but the Peace of Breda, signed in July 1667, terminated the war.

By this treaty England was given New Netherland, the Dutch taking Surinam as compensation. Hardly a fair exchange it might have seemed, but time has proved otherwise. The Dutch still have Surinam.

The Peace of Breda was not long lasting. Very soon again the fleets of England and Holland were to be in conflict, and the peace of New Amsterdam, now New York, and of New Amstel, now New Castle, was to be disturbed. That helpless little town on the Delaware had been now Dutch, now Swedish, now English, as the fortunes of far-off wars, the intrigues of distant courts, the ambitions of European rulers had tossed it to and fro. Very soon again it was to cancel its allegiance to Charles II of England and to swear to be true to the States-General—for a few months.

Charles had found the Dutch very undesirable as enemies, so, at Breda, he had made friends with them. As friends the two nations were harmless to each other, but as allies they would be mutually helpful and both countries needed help to hold France in check.

Philip IV of Spain had died. Louis XIV, although he had once solemnly renounced all claim to Spanish territory in the right of his wife, Philip's daughter, now suddenly repented his abnegation. Brabant and Flanders were too tempting. He decided to take them and immediately did so. This frightened Holland, alarmed England and gave serious concern to Sweden. At the Hague, in January 1668, they formed the Triple Alliance, a defensive league against France.

Louis had the means to combat the Alliance. He had money, he had men and he had Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte

de Turenne, one of the great captains of history, to lead them. But he also had an intimate knowledge of the character of Charles. He knew that, more than Charles loved England, he loved women and money. In the household of the Duchesse d'Orleans, Charles's sister, there was a young woman, Louise de Querouaille. "Her manners were ingratiating, her wit agreeable and her face beautiful," also, her morals were easy.

The Duchesse, with a gay train of gentlemen and ladies and Louise, crossed the Channel in 1670. At Dover Charles met them. It was but a matter of days before a secret treaty between England and France was signed, whereby Charles promised to join Louis in war on his own friends and allies, the Dutch, and Louis promised Charles two million livres down and three million a year thereafter. Louise became Duchess of Portsmouth and the mother of Charles's son.

* * * * *

On the surface England's relations with Holland still showed not even a ripple of discord. The Triple Alliance seemed as sound as ever, when, in January 1672, Charles's cabinet, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale, the notorious Cabal, decided it was time to do something to earn Louis's livres. The Dutch Smyrna fleet of merchantmen, homeward bound with full cargoes, was due in the Channel in March. Orders went to Admiral Sir Robert Holmes to turn pirate and take it.

Holmes took one warship and four merchantmen out of sixty. It was not a very successful bit of buccaneering, but it was enough to start a new war, in the course of which English and French invaded the Netherlands, and the Dutch recaptured New York and New Castle.

On August 7th 1673 the Dutch Admiral, Evertsen, with a

fleet of twenty-three sail and sixteen hundred troops, besides the sailors, appeared off Staten Island, and two days later lay in New York harbor. There were eighty men in the garrison of the fort. A few shots were exchanged, a few men killed, and on August 9th the Dutch flag floated over the fort.

It was unnecessary to use force for the recovery of New Castle. Deputies from the South River appeared in September at New Orange, formerly New York, and "declared their submission to the authority of Their High: Might: the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands and His Illustrious Highness, the Prince of Orange." They were permitted to "keep their houses lands and personal property which belong to them lawfully." They were granted free trade with Christians and savages, freedom of conscience, freedom from ground-taxes and from excise "on beer wine and distilled waters, which may be consumed at the South-river until the month of May 1676." This last was in consideration of the great expense the colonists would have to incur in erecting a fort, which was ordered built "on a suitable place" by the labor of every sixth man of the population there. These privileges were extended to the Swedes and Finns as well as to the Dutch, and to the English also, "provided they take the oath of allegiance."

"For the maintenance of good order and policy as well as for other reasons," courts were to be established at New Amstel, which had resumed its Dutch name, at Upland and "Hoere Kil." At each, eight men, chosen by vote of the people, were to be magistrates.

Over all the River colonies a Commander was appointed. Anthony Colve, Governor of New Netherland, issued a commission designating "as Commander and Schout for the South-

river of New Netherland, lately called Delloware . . . Pieter Alrigs."

* * * * *

Peter Alrichs was a most adaptable man and one bound to be found at the head of affairs at New Amstel, or as near it as he could get, no matter what nation held the River. He was a nephew of Jacob Alrichs and, although Jacob's reputation, after his death in December 1659, had been so villainously assailed by d'Hinoyossa, Peter had maintained friendly relations with his uncle's vilifier. In January 1660 d'Hinoyossa had appointed him commandant "at the Horekil," and in 1662 had given him a monopoly of all trade on the River "between Boompiers Hoock and Cape Hinlopen."

When the English came in 1664, they had confiscated all of Peter's rather large landholding in New Castle County and at the Horekill, but soon after had granted him two islands, "the biggest of the two" being "comonly called Matineconck." They also had made him bailiff.

Under the Dutch again, he served as "Commander and Schout" during the short time of their control. On the return of the English in 1674 all their old officers were reinstated, "excepting Peter Alricks, the Bayliffe, he having proferr'd himself to y^e^ Dutch at their first coming, of his own Motion and acted very violently (as their cheife Officer) ever since." But he must have reinstated himself in the good graces of those in authority, for two years later he was a magistrate, and, two years after that, again commander of the military forces and the fort at New Castle. Not even the Vicar of Bray was more affable to changing circumstances than was Peter Alrichs.

* * * * *

With the return of the Dutch in 1673 there was the customary forswearing of all former allegiances and assumption of new obligations. Commander Alrichs was given instructions looking toward the maintenance of good order and of friendly relations with the Indians. He was also directed "to get information of the doings and proceedings of the English in Maryland and Virginia." He very soon had news of them to report or rather he heard of them from headquarters.

In January 1674 Governor General Colve advised Alrichs that "some English of Maryland have driven some of the subjects of this government out of their dwelling houses in a very strange and cruel manner and have ruined the same by burning their houses." Colve proposed to provide for the sufferers at New Orange and called on all the inhabitants of the South River "to place themselves immediately under the orders of Commander Alrigs" to oppose the enemy when they might appear.

But there was very little time left for the Marylanders to war on the Dutch colonies. The great powers of Europe, upon whose whim for war or peace hung the destinies of the people on the River, were shifting again in their alliances. Spain saw that the Dutch were hard pressed in their fight against French and English and that France with England's aid was likely to conquer and annex the Spanish Netherlands. Spain, therefore, made friendly advances to its ancient enemy, Holland. As a friend, it advised peace with England, on the basis of mutual restoration of conquests and the payment by the Dutch of a handsome war indemnity to England.

Charles was moved to peace by the fact that his nephew, William of Orange, was now Stadholder, but probably even more by the prospect of the indemnity. He had had for years past two paymasters, his Parliament and Louis. When Parlia-

ment would not grant him supplies he would oppose it or prorogue it and take pay from Louis for doing what the French king wanted him to do. Then when Louis stopped his allowance, he would turn against the French and do what Parliament wanted—for a price. Now there came into the picture a new banker, Holland. He fell in with the suggestion of Spain and, for eight hundred thousand crowns and "the honour of the flag," he withdrew from the war. The Treaty of Westminster was signed February 19th 1674.

Restoration of conquests by both sides was provided for in the treaty, and on July 11th it was proclaimed at the City Hall of New Orange, which again became New York. Colve ceased to be governor general, Sir Edmund Andros succeeding him. As an appanage of the main colony, the River territory became English once again. "Those who were Commissaryes at the time of the Dutch coming onto these parts in July 1673," were directed to "reassume your places of Magistrates at New Castle in Delaware River." So, for the second and last time, the curtain was rung down on the drama of the Dutch on the Delaware.

CHAPTER LXV

OF THE REASONS WHY

BY TWO successive conquests, the taking of the River by Stuyvesant and the taking of New Amsterdam, Fort Orange and Fort Casimir by Nicolls and Carr, the names of New Sweden and New Netherland were erased from the map of America. Thereafter neither the King of Sweden nor the States-General of the United Provinces held a square foot of North American soil. For more than twenty-five years the Swedes and, for nearly a half century, the Dutch had labored to establish permanent national possessions in the New World and all their effort had come to naught. Their colonies were failures, and the reasons why they were failures are not far to seek.

There are certain essential requisites to success in colonizing permanently a new and wild country. There must be, in the parent country, a large number of people desirous of leaving their homeland for good, willing emigrants having a fixed and stable purpose of creating a permanent home in the new country. They must be ready and able to endure the hardships necessarily incident to the taming of a wilderness and competent to establish an environment suited to their needs and

standards of living. They must be capable of supporting themselves from the start, or else supplied from the homeland until they become self-supporting. They must be numerous enough to defend themselves from external aggression, or else protected during the period of their infancy and weakness by their national government. In nearly all these essentials both the Swedish and Dutch colonies on the Delaware were fatally deficient.

To arouse a sufficiently widespread desire to emigrate, many causes have operated in the successfully colonizing countries: overcrowded populations, exhaustion of the soil or other national wealth of the home country, governmental oppression, religious persecution, desire for betterment of economic or social conditions, eagerness for change arising from natural restlessness and inborn spirit of adventure. Not one of these causes was operative in Sweden nor in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.

* * * * *

In Sweden the population was notably sparse, there being hardly more than three people to the square mile. The country was rich in undeveloped natural resources. The people enjoyed political freedom under popular rulers of their own election. There were no religious difficulties. The economic condition of the individual was generally satisfactory, and, while there were sharp class distinctions between the nobility and the peasantry, the great bulk of the people were socially equal among themselves and unenvious of their betters. Intensely patriotic, attached to their own soil, ignorant of the outside world, they were unstirred by ambition and undesirous of change.

Of all European peoples there was none less likely than the

Swedes to feel the urge toward emigration. As a colonizing country, Sweden was in this respect in the lowest class. There was bound to be a sad deficiency in the quantity of colonizing material, the number of people desiring to emigrate. There was bound to be a long protracted period of numerical weakness until, by a slow process of occasional additions and natural increase, the colony became populous. During this period it would need to be constantly supported and energetically defended by its home government. Otherwise its deficiency in numbers must be fatal.

New Sweden was weak in numbers, absurdly weak at times. With a population of seventy men and a few women and children, in 1652 and 1653, it pretended to hold both sides of Delaware Bay and River from the capes to the falls, more than two hundred and fifty miles of coast line with an unlimited hinterland, a position utterly untenable in the face of any challenge, unless continuously supported and strongly defended by old Sweden. And from old Sweden it received neither adequate support nor valid defense.

The old country, during almost the whole life of the colony, was engaged in its various wars. Its money power and its man power were always being drained to the dregs to carry on its really vast military operations. All faces were turned eastward, looking to Denmark and Poland, Germany and Russia, where the wars raged. A few, Oxenstierna and Fleming for two, gave heed now and then to the call of their only colony, but every one else turned to the west a cold shoulder and a deaf ear. Even in time of peace there was little done. Christina was too busy with her philosophers and her dancing masters.

When the challenge came with Stuyvesant's demand for

surrender, New Sweden was too weak to resist, and old Sweden too unconcerned to do more than protest.

On the other hand—and herein lay the irony of the situation—as colonizing material the Swedes and Finns were of the best quality. Physically vigorous, they withstood hardship. Inured to toil, they subdued the wilderness. Used to rough living, they faced rude conditions with equanimity. Accustomed to agriculture, they developed prosperous farms. Intent on permanent occupation, they struck their roots deep in the soil. Serious of purpose, they were undaunted by obstacles. Self-reliant, they throve individually, in spite of neglect. These sturdy peasants were ideal pioneers. Given a measure of protection from external oppression, New Sweden might have survived. Increased in numbers by such a stream of emigrants as flowed to New England, it would have flourished. Undefended, unaugmented, its death was inevitable.

* * * * *

The defects of the Dutch as colonists were much the same as those of the Swedes. Though their land was more densely peopled, it was not overcrowded. Less rich in natural resources, it prospered by its commerce. There was political and religious freedom. There were no annoying social discriminations. There was the same attachment to the fatherland and an even more pronounced disinclination to wander. General prosperity bred content. It has been said that dukes do not emigrate. Neither do Dutchmen.

Under these conditions the Netherlands ranked with Sweden as a colonizing country, if "colonizing" is understood to mean more than merely holding and exploiting foreign possessions, to mean the upbuilding of new states of their own nationality in foreign lands.

Suffering under disabilities similar to those of the Swedes, the Dutch had their own peculiar disabilities, which arose out of their national characteristics. The Dutch were traders, a mercantile nation. When they looked abroad and considered foreign countries, their thought was of the profit to be derived from commerce with them. It is significant that the charter of the Dutch West India Company, which founded New Netherland, though it states as one of its purposes "the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts," has this one reference to colonization, while there are dozens of references to "navigation and trade." "Trade," "traffic," "commerce," the words stand out everywhere in it. Nearly all of its forty-five articles have to do with trade or with piracy of enemy commerce. There is hardly a suggestion for the regulation and government of a colony, not a single suggestion of even ultimate, though postponed, self-government of a new state.

It is significant, also, that there was no grant to the Company of definite territory in America, no such assertion of the right of the States-General to parcel out and convey specific lands for permanent colonization. The Company had no title deeds that it could match with Baltimore's or with those of the New Englanders. Trade can be carried on without any pretense of ownership of the land. It does not involve titles to real estate. The Company was licensed to go abroad, to the coast of Africa and of America and to trade there. That was its primary and major purpose. Incidentally, it might people "those fruitful and unsettled parts," but its real purposes could be achieved if it did no more than establish fortified trading-posts, manned by its servants, and attempted no real colonization. And that is exactly what it did.

Both at Manhattan and on the Delaware its first ventures

were mere trading-posts. Its subsequent extensions were but slow and casual outgrowths from these centers. Tillage of the soil must be the first concern of settlers in a new country, the solid basis upon which may be erected a lasting structure. Manufactures and commerce may come later, but agriculture is the prime industry. The Swedes and Finns, who came to the Delaware, made this their chief business, and, although politically dominated and, to an extent, harassed by the Dutch, they throve, prospered and persisted because they obeyed this natural law. The Dutch Settlers were not farmers, neither at New Amsterdam nor at New Amstel. They were town-dwellers, traders and tradesmen. Their house had no foundations.

* * * * *

If there had been no land north or east of Manhattan and none south or west of Henlopen upon which the English might settle, New Netherland might have had a chance for steady, though slow, growth and for permanence, provided there was no direct hostile attack from overseas. But to the south there were Maryland and Virginia filling up year by year with Englishmen, and to the north and east there was New England to which they were swarming. In 1664, the year of its downfall, there were 10,000 people in all New Netherland, but in New England there were 50,000, and in Maryland and Virginia another 50,000.

New England, ever growing in population, had been ever encroaching on the territory claimed by the Dutch, pushing them back from the Connecticut to the Hudson, absorbing Long Island. It claimed all the land down to the 38th parallel, the latitude of the Potomac, and westward to the Pacific. Maryland claimed up to the 40th parallel, the latitude of

Philadelphia. "Where then lies New Netherland?" Stuyvesant asked Winthrop.

New Netherland lay nowhere, in the opinion of the English. The Dutch were mere casual traders, seated on English soil. And, whatever argument one may make, based on international law, the custom of nations, the precedents of other colonial enterprises, that was the fact. The course of human events has a logic all its own. The English were bound by their destiny to overflow and submerge the Dutch on the North American continent. Even if Charles II had not granted their land to his brother, and the Duke of York had not sent his ships and men to take possession, the result would have been the same, though by a delayed process. From the north and from the south and overseas from the east the English, a restless, dominating people, the colonizers of the world, were pushing in on the Dutch. New Netherland would have been, for a time, a little Holland, holding back the oncoming tide of Englishmen, only at last to see its dikes crumble and the flood pour over them.

New Sweden and New Netherland went the way of the weak in the struggle, which only the stronger survive.

THE END

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